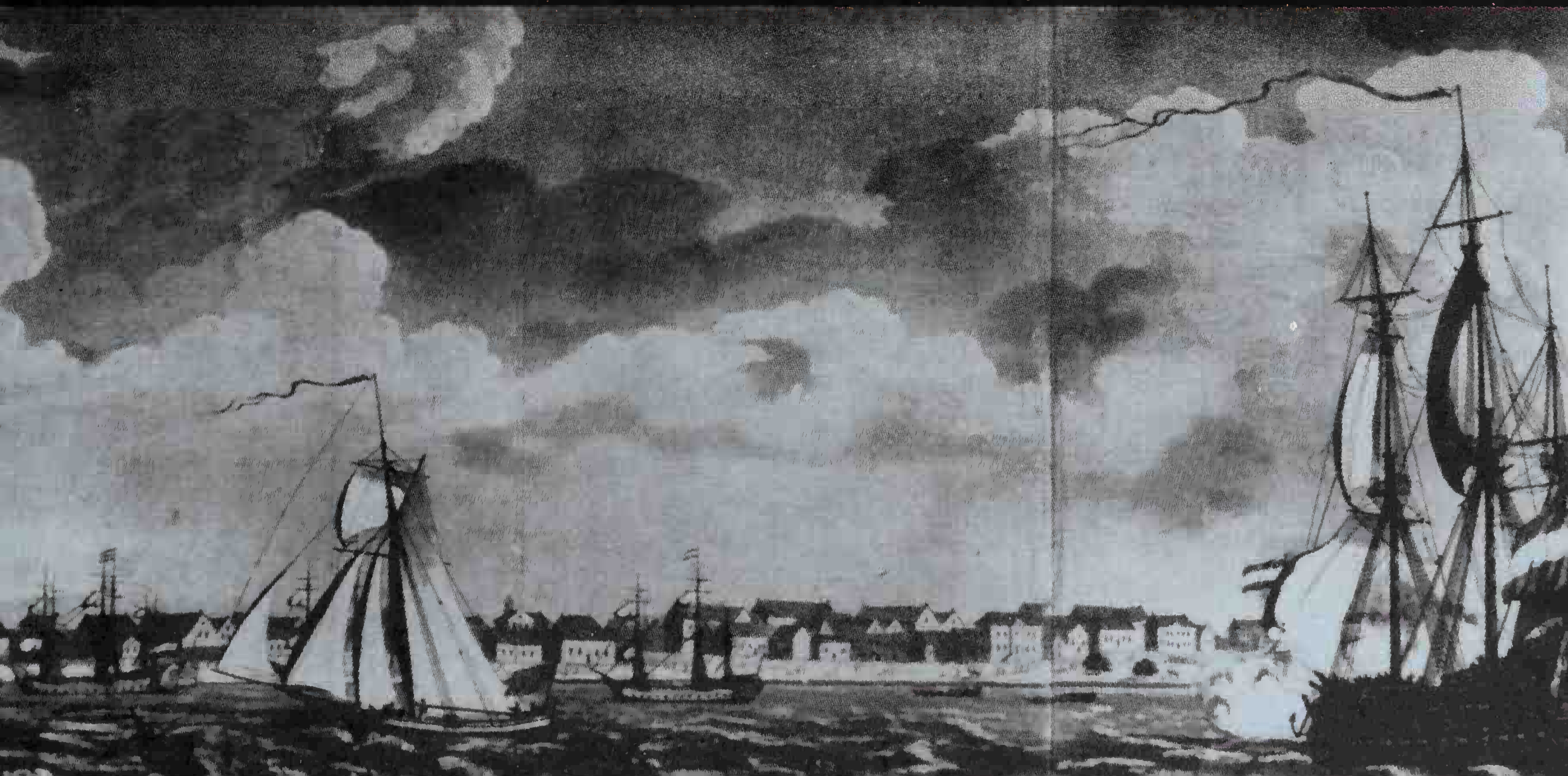
ATLANTIC DIASPORAS

Jews, Conversos, and Crypto-Jews in the Age of Mercantilism, 1500–1800

EDITED BY

Richard L. Kagan & Philip D. Morgan



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Edited by RICHARD L. KAGAN
and PHILIP D. MORGAN

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PREFACE

THE ESSAYS GATHERED in this volume offer a wide-ranging exploration of the role of Jews and crypto-Jews in the Atlantic world between 1500 and 1800. The rationale for this collection, as originally conceived, was the convergence of two streams of scholarly endeavor: one focused on Atlantic history and another on so-called Port Jews. The great virtue of thinking in Atlantic terms is that it encourages broad perspectives, unexpected comparisons, transnational orientations, and expanded horizons; the parochialism that characterizes so much history writing has a chance of being overcome. The "Port Jew" model derives from European Jewish history, which has traditionally been a somewhat insular field. That branch of scholarship generally paid little attention to developments in the western hemisphere, and then only insofar as they affected European Jewry. The import of such developments, apart from those pertaining directly to the Inquisition, has typically been deemed minor. The essays in this volume bring serious attention to historical issues raised by interactions between European Jews and the Atlantic world in ways that complicate prior historiographical notions of the early modern Jewish experience in both the Old World and the New.

Atlantic history is, as John Elliott has so nicely put it, the study of "the creation, destruction, and re-creation of communities as a result of the movement, across and around the Atlantic basin, of people, commodities, cultural practices, and ideas."[1] It is especially attentive to flows of people, goods, plants, microbes, services, and information; it is particularly concerned with encounters among peoples of widely varying cultural backgrounds; and it notably explores the formation of flexible, hybrid societies in the peripheries, societies that, starting in the sixteenth century, accommodated both Jews and crypto-Jews formerly residing in Sepharad (as usually considered, the Iberian peninsula).[2] As Jonathan Israel points out, no other diaspora ranged as widely, linked so many empires, or cut across so many confessional divides as did that of the Sephardim (the descendants of Jews who left Spain and Portugal after the 1492 expulsion). In fact, their movements were so frequent and varied that it is possible to identify specialized circuits within a broader overall circuit, or, following Israel's formulation, diasporas within a wider Jewish diaspora—so we have incorporated this concept into the title of this book.[3]

"Port Jew," as distinct from "Court Jew," or *Hofjude,* a term that refers to the Jewish bankers and financiers who surrounded the Austrian emperors and other European princes, was coined to suggest the distinctive experience of Jewish merchants who lived in dynamic Mediterranean and Atlantic port cities in the early modern era. With their far-flung networks, complex webs of relationships, constant movements back and forth, these Port Jews epitomize the restlessly fluid, border-crossing, and culture-bridging qualities that characterized life in the Atlantic basin.[4] Intermediaries, brokers, living between Christian and Muslim lands, negotiating between Catholic and Protestant empires, Port Jews were extraordinarily diverse, and indeed the term itself includes not only practicing Jews who adhered closely to the traditions of their ancestral faith but also crypto-Jews and Christians descended from Jews, known as New Christians, *cristãos novos,* in the Portuguese empire and conversos in the Spanish empire who maintained, however imperfectly, some form of Judaic religious observance and identity. Individual circumstances varied, but many Port Jews were a classically in-between people, liminal individuals whose energy, ambition, and in some instances, economic success derived from the inherent precariousness of their daily lives.

Not all Port Jews lived on the edge. Indeed, some, as a number of the following essays suggest, were landowners, a right generally prohibited to Jews in Europe. Furthermore, in some places, such as early modern Suriname, Jews were the landowners in the colony's interior; they were neither merchants nor urban dwellers. Jews, such as Moisés Navarro, discussed in Wim Klooster's essay, owned plantations and real estate in Dutch Brazil. In Curaçao, according to Isaac and Suzanne Emmanuel, "80% of the plantations . . . at one time or another were in the possession of Jewish owners," even if many were also merchants. Such men might be labeled "Plantation" Jews—another category to set alongside "Court" and "Port" Jew. Some Jews possessed slaves, occasionally in large numbers necessary for plantation agriculture, at other times just a few house or warehouse slaves in domestic and urban settings.[5] Sometimes, Jews came to exercise considerable political power. In short, Atlantic Jewry resists facile definition, and one of the strengths of this collection is to demonstrate the various, and ever-changing roles, of both Jews and New Christians within the broad expanse of the Atlantic world.

Indeed, at the outset, readers should be aware that such generic terms as "Jew" and "New Christian" do not begin to account for the range of ethnic admixtures and religious practices that the following essays will address. Thus, for reasons of simplicity, instead of using the Portuguese *cristãos novos* to refer to those Jews and the descendants of Jews who converted to Christianity, our preference has been to use the Spanish term, *conversos*, partly because the term is so widely known. At the same time, we have generally avoided using *Marrano,* a term of Portuguese extraction that referred, derogatorily, to crypto-Jews, that is, conversos who secretly practiced Jewish rites, although the term does appear in several of the subsequent essays.[6]

Whatever their individual circumstances, collectively Jews in the Atlantic constituted a stateless minority, a "nation within a nation," the counterpoint to the imperial cultures of early modern Europe; and yet from the fifteenth century onward, Jews were also key participants in the effort to expand European empires into the western hemisphere and the broader Atlantic world. In short, they were, as Jonathan Israel has noted, "simultaneously agents and victims of empire."[7] Their dispersion across imperial boundaries makes for an important comparative study of the contest of European cultures, market development, and emerging national identities. At the same time, the varied cultural environments in which Jews were immersed in the New World—not merely mercantile, but also Catholic and Protestant, African and Indian, agricultural and mechanical, urban and rural, enslaved and free—shaped their behavior and identity in subtle ways. How Jews made their way as Jews, as colonists, and as Jewish colonists in an uncertain, evolving world is a story with many narratives.

We will be the first to acknowledge that the current volume is by no means the first to address this vast subject. A much larger and wide-ranging, but inevitably less focused, volume than ours is Paolo Bernardini and Norman Fiering's essay collection, *The Jews and the Expansion of Europe to the West, 1450–1850* (2001). Two other fairly large essay volumes, limited to port cities both within and without the Atlantic and extending much beyond our time limits, are David Cesarani's *Port Jews: Jewish Communities in Cosmopolitan Maritime Trading Centres, 1550–1950* (2002) and David Cesarani and Gemma Romain's *Jews and Port Cities 1590–1990: Commerce, Community, and Cosmopolitanism* (2006). Finally, perhaps most relevant of all is "Port Jews of the Atlantic," a special issue of the journal *Jewish History,* edited by Lois Dubin. It is less substantial than our collection—just three major articles—and indeed, two of them come from authors also in our volume. The present volume builds on these precedents.[8]

Two common threads or sets of questions can be identified in the essays of this volume. The first is the complex question of identity and its vagaries for early modern Jews. How did individual Jews negotiate the plasticity of Jewish identity in an effort to forge commercial advantages? How conflicted were Jews in drawing the boundaries around religious identity? How important was race? Once a Jew, always a Jew? In an age where there was only one Jewish denomination—orthodox—was it possible to fashion a religious hybrid and still be "Jewish"?[9] The second question concerns marginality. That Jews were not part of a ruling elite, regardless of place and economic circumstance, played a key role in Jewish mobility, serving as both impetus and inducement to circulate. It made Jews an easy target for discrimination and unfair treatment; yet, at the same time, it gave them the freedom to shed one cultural milieu and embrace another. Would it be fair to say that the very marginality of Jews as a people drove their many dilemmas regarding identity? Both themes are, of course, applicable to other groups. But unlike other diasporic peoples, such as the Scots or the Armenians, Jews of this period could not lay claim to a viable homeland. Nor could they count on the mercy of religious sympathizers in other nations, as, for example, the Huguenots and the Lutherans were able to do. The best they could expect was a grudging toleration.[10]

In answering some of these questions, we like to think that this volume breaks new ground. It differs from previous volumes in exploring, not just the concept of Port Jew, but the more settled and exploitative lives of Plantation Jews, perhaps the best term to describe Jewish landowners who also owned slaves. Also new in this volume is the issue of internecine squabbles among Jews living in the diaspora, together with the manner in which Jewish landowners in Suriname offered an original interpretation of the perennial "What is a Jew?" question, when they insisted that the children born to them by their female slaves deserved admittance into their local congregation as Jews. Race then figures in this volume in unprecedented ways. Finally, in keeping with the broad scope of Atlantic studies, the essays gathered here underline the multiplicity of roles played by both Jews and New Christians not only in the Americas but in West Africa as well. Together they represent the cutting edge of a new and emerging field of study that might be entitled Atlantic Jewry inasmuch as it transcends the experiences of both Jews and New Christians in specific national or imperial contexts. They address a variety of themes—from race and religion to the marketplace and politics—and they explore critical questions of identity, authority, and cohesion in the nascent Atlantic world.

The lead essay by Jonathan Israel offers a wide-angle view of the Sephardic diaspora triggered by Spain's fateful Edict of Expulsion in 1492. He follows these Jews, eastward to the Ottoman Empire, and westward, into the Atlantic, the Caribbean, and the Americas, and northward to Amsterdam, London, Hamburg, and other north European ports. Key to this diaspora and how it worked are hundreds, possibly thousands of overlapping family networks, those strings of common experiences, interests, and religious beliefs that, woven together, constituted the warp and woof of an enterprising yet geographically dispersed "nation within a nation."

Following Israel's *tour de horizon,* the volume's essays bring us squarely into the Atlantic. Adam Sutcliffe's contribution uses the concept of Port Jew to define the contours of the Jewish Atlantic. He also reminds us that the Jewish Atlantic was neither isolated nor monolithic; interactions with Christians were constant. Nor was the Jewish Atlantic exclusively Jewish, for its members comprised New Christians, Christians who converted to Judaism, Jews who converted to Christianity but retained old family ties, together with the mulatto offspring of Jewish slave owners in Barbados and Suriname. Diversity, in turn, led to different patterns of religious practice, together with what Sutcliffe describes as "hybrid identity," a term that, in other guises, appears in the volume's other essays.

The next section, Mercantilism, moves away from broad definitions to examine the ways in which the Jewish Atlantic worked. Wim Klooster's richly documented essay examines the "diaspora within the diaspora," triggered by the end of Dutch Brazil in 1654. Starting in 1636, New Holland offered Jews their first opportunity to openly establish synagogues in the New World, but the colony's demise scattered its Jewish inhabitants over a wide arc: westward to Suriname, Curaçao, and Guiana, still retained by the Dutch; to the new English colonies in Barbados and Jamaica; and, in many instances, back to Amsterdam itself. As in 1492, however, diaspora meant beginnings, not ends, and, as Klooster demonstrates, diaspora quickly translated into new trading networks and opportunities for individual Jewish traders to do business on a truly Atlantic scale.

Holly Snyder is interested in the ways in which Jewish traders fit into the wider dynamic of the Atlantic economy. Her essay, focused on the British Atlantic, tracks the careers of individual merchants, notably Antonio Fernandes Carvajal, in seventeenth-century London, and Asser Levy, in seventeenth-century New York, both paradigmatic to the extent that they successfully managed to circumvent legal restrictions on Jewish enterprise and skillfully crossed imperial boundaries in order to cultivate trading relationships with Jewish merchants scattered across the Atlantic world. Her discussion of Aaron Lopez is especially illuminating, as he was among those merchants who understood (and profited from) the dynamics of the "consumer revolution" of the eighteenth century—long before historians coined the term. Based in Newport, Lopez was able not only to satisfy consumer demand for high-value luxury goods such as cordials and snuff but also to supply a growing rural market with such quotidian items as spermaceti candles, tea, English cloth, and crockery.

Trade is also the focus of Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert's essay, which probes the inner workings of trading networks developed by the so-called *Nação*—that constellation of Portuguese Jews and crypto-Jews who, starting in the sixteenth century, fanned out across the wider Atlantic world. His question: How were these long-distance trading networks maintained, especially when so many members of its members were traveling? The answer, he maintains, can be found in various social practices developed to maintain group solidarity. These ranged from multifamily dwellings, useful for helping to indoctrinate children in Jewish practices when fathers were away, to living clustered together in a single, ghetto-like barrio. Group endogamy was also the norm, and the marriage of daughters was strategically arranged so as to create or at least reinforce important commercial ties. In this sense, women represented a crucial, though often overlooked element in the maintenance of the trading networks forged by the *naçao*.

Francesca Trivellato is equally interested in the mechanisms that helped to keep trade diasporas afloat. Her subject is trust, an ingredient she believes that previous studies of long-distance, and especially cross-cultural, trade have either overlooked or, more commonly, simply taken for granted by equating it with kinship. Yet trust, for Trivellato, does not necessarily run in the blood. Kinship, she maintains, is essential for trust, but trust itself should never be essentialized. Rather, it is more like an independent variable, a dynamic process, something that must continually be proven, tested, renewed, and reinforced through extracontractual relationships of various sorts. Kinship, in short, is not enough to understand the successful operation of the trading alliances forged by the Jews of the Atlantic world.

The essays included in the volume's next section, Identity and Religion, move away from commerce and trade to explore the complex amalgam of social and religious identities found throughout the Jewish Atlantic. As Sutcliffe suggested with his notion of "hybrid identity," the Jewish Atlantic was not entirely Jewish to the extent that it also embraced New Christians, whose commitment to the ancestral faith and its practices was often less than total. This issue comes to the fore in Bruno Feitler's essay, focused on the Jews of Dutch Brazil. He examines the extent to which the Jewish community in Recife suffered from factional infighting, much of which revolved around disputes between New Christians and Jews. Should New Christians—in this instance, Jews who had converted to Christianity but now claimed to be Jews—be allowed into the community? And what to do with Jews claiming to be Jewish but who knew little about Judaism per se? Then there was the problem of New Christians, who, after living as "public" Jews, reverted to Christianity but nevertheless sought to maintain mercantile ties with their Jewish brethren. These issues plagued Jewish Brazil almost from the inception and continued, starting in 1654, when the Portuguese regained control over New Holland, sparking the diaspora addressed by Klooster.

The question of Jewishness also arises in Aviva Ben-Ur's fascinating essay about Jews in Suriname, which highlights the varied, occasionally even heterodox character of Atlantic Jewry. Jews of mostly Sephardic origin first settled in Suriname during the second half of the seventeenth century, initially under the auspices of the English, then the Dutch, who assumed control of the colony in 1667. As they prospered, Jewish landowners, like Christians, bought slaves, most of whom were of African extraction. In time unions between slave-owning Jews and their female chattel gave rise to mulatto offspring, some of whom were raised, like their fathers, as Jews. These mulattos posed difficult questions involving both issues of race and religion for the local Mahamad. Were the fathers of these children allowed to convert their mulatto slave children to Judaism? If so, what was to be the status of these children in the Jewish community? The issue was eventually settled by recognizing the formal conversion of mulatto children to Judaism, albeit with the proviso that mulatto Jews and Sephardim who married them would be considered second-class Jews—*congregantes*—rather than full-fledged members of the local community. Most remarkably, women of African origin played an important role in the transmission of Jewishness in Suriname.

What happened in Suriname was by no means unique, as Peter Mark and José da Silva Horta have discovered, for similar arrangements existed among Sephardic Jews living in small coastal communities in what is now Senegal, in West Africa. Their research is the first to document the history of these trade-based communities founded before 1606, in close connection with the "Portuguese" Jews from Amsterdam. Their members, while trading primarily with local Muslim chieftains and far from the Portuguese Inquisition, openly asserted their Jewish identity. Rival Christian Portuguese traders also in Senegal and in the Guinea-Bissau region resented their presence and relations with Catholic priests were problematic at best. Yet the community owed its survival largely to West African local traditions offering both protection and hospitality to merchants and perhaps partly to the protection offered them as *dhimma* (or "Peoples of the Book") by local Muslims. Once again, however, interaction between natives and Jews led to mulatto offspring and the same problem of defining Jewishness as Ben-Ur found in Suriname.

Ronnie Perelis's essay also raises the question of how to define a Jew, but here the focus is the autobiography of Antonio de Montezinos, a Portuguese New Christian. An inveterate traveler—in many respects, Montezinos is the seventeenth-century incarnation of the stereotypical "Wandering Jew"—this New Christian, like so many of his brethren, experienced what Perelis calls "vertiginous" identity shifts prior to discovering his Jewishness in the New World. The intriguing twist in Montezinos's story is that this discovery, this identity shift, occurred high in the Andes, amid natives he perceived as remnants of the lost tribe of Israel. Yet as so often happened throughout the Jewish Atlantic, rapid shifts in identity brought with them complications of an unexpected sort, which, in Montezinos's case, led to his arrest, as a judaizer, by the Inquisition in Cartagena de Indies. But it was there, in its prisons, that he wrote a riveting story, emblematic of the difficulties and dangers that confronted both Jews and New Christians in the wider Atlantic world.

The volume closes with an epilogue by Natalie Zemon Davis, whose most recent work on al-Hassan al-Wazzan, otherwise known as Leo Africanus, author of the first geography of Africa, makes her an especially insightful concluding commentator.[11] Just as al-Wazzan was an enigmatic, shadowy figure, who moved between different polities in sixteenth-century North Africa (a world peopled by Berbers, Andalusians, Arabs, Jews, and blacks), so Davis rightly locates these essays in a world of porous boundaries, constant motion, and shifting identities, where the ability to cross borders was crucial. Alerting us, in some cases, to differing interpretations, Davis also points to issues that need further research and resolution. She notes, for example, the complicated relations between Iberian Jewry (Sephardim) and Jews of eastern European extraction (Ashkenazim) that would be worth detailed probing.[12]

Together, the essays gathered in this volume make both an original and a useful contribution to the emergent field of Atlantic Jewry. They are important to the extent that they suggest that the world of Atlantic Jewry, typified by Port Jews but that now must encompass Plantation Jews, was somewhat more complex than often thought. The received image of this diaspora is that of a world in motion, as the recent book by Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert on Portuguese Jews and New Christians living within the confines of the Spanish empire argues.[13] Yet the presence of Jewish landowners in Suriname, Brazil, and Curaçao—and, likely, future research will discover Jewish property owners in other parts of the Atlantic world—suggests that circulation was occasionally tempered by stability and the emergence of Jewish communities rooted in the land. The racial issues addressed in several of the volume's essays also raise new questions about the problem of defining Jewishness in a multiracial society. In Suriname, local congregations papered over the issue by creating a class of second-class Jewry reserved for the mulatto offspring of Jewish landowners, but the presence of *congregantes* in synagogue suggest that Jewish communities in other parts of the Atlantic are likely to have played fast and lose with traditions of matrilineality in order to accommodate children of mixed racial and religious background. In this respect, the complex racial amalgam of New World societies, in addition to posing headaches for rabbis, also provided solutions for small and somewhat fragile Jewish communities seeking to grow. Not every Jewish community was as inventive as those of Suriname, but on balance, if one were to characterize Atlantic Jewry, such terms as "innovative," "adaptable," and "diverse" come to the fore. In this sense, Atlantic Jewry took on the trappings of the wider geographic basin to which it belonged.

On March 25–26, 2005, the first Lavy Colloquium, "Atlantic Jewry in an Age of Mercantilism," took place at the Homewood Campus of the Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. It began with an evening lecture by Jonathan Israel, who, in a wide-ranging and learned survey, delineated the contours of the Sephardic Atlantic diaspora in the early modern era. Then, the following day, in typical Hopkins fashion, three commentators offered incisive critiques of six precirculated papers, leading to intensive exchanges by all those assembled around the famous seminar table in the History Department, located in Gilman Hall. During a full day of stimulating and searching discussion, the colloquium proved a memorable event, notable for the high-octane level of its scholarly give and take.[14]

It was also memorable because Norman Lavy, M.D., F.A.C.P., and his wife Marion, along with selected friends, attended the event. Dr. Lavy received his undergraduate degree from Hopkins in 1951. He and his wife established the Lavy Colloquium to further scholarship opportunities in the Leonard and Helen R. Stulman Jewish Studies Program in the Zanvyl Krieger School of Arts and Sciences. They have provided generous philanthropic support to the university to expand scholarship in Jewish studies and to enrich Jewish students' cultural and social experiences. As Norman Lavy noted, "the spontaneous personal interactions and scholarly exchanges [that occurred during the colloquium] represented the very best and most exciting archetypes of the process of learning, the essence of discovery and knowledge."

During the two years since the Lavy Colloquium, this volume has taken shape. The authors revised their papers in line with the critical comments and suggestions they received. Meanwhile, the editors invited two of the commentators to submit formal essays, and added two entirely new pieces. In addition, Jonathan Israel reshaped his opening lecture as an introduction to the volume, while Natalie Zemon Davis, who had originally commented on three of the papers at the colloquium, agreed to write an epilogue. The resulting collection of essays is now a wide-ranging exploration of the role of Jews and crypto-Jews in the Atlantic world between 1500 and 1800.

Above all, we thank Norman and Marion Lavy. In addition, we are grateful to David Nirenberg, then head of the Jewish Studies Program, for his generosity; the chair of the History Department for her support; Henry Tom, our editor, for his foresight; our anonymous reader for many useful suggestions; and, especially, our contributors for their industry, intelligence, and patience. Finally, we are grateful to the men and women of the diasporas, whose lives and experiences we have attempted, albeit imperfectly, to recreate. Without them, our subject would not exist.

PART I

Contexts

CHAPTER ONE

Jews and Crypto-Jews in the Atlantic World Systems, 1500–1800

JONATHAN ISRAEL

Of the various trading diasporas that played a significant part in the commerce and maritime links of the Atlantic world during the early modern era, the Sephardic Jewish variant, together with the connected crypto-Jewish element among the descendants of the forcibly baptized Jews of the Iberian peninsula, surely was the widest-ranging in its operations and the longest-lasting in its general impact, on both culture and society and on the international trade system. This claim seems to hold whether we consider only "stateless diasporas," such as those of the Jews, Huguenots, and Armenians, or also include "state-linked diasporas," to use an important distinction in recent discussion about widely flung entrepreneurial trading networks.[1] For the Catholic French and Genoese merchant communities in early modern Spain and Spanish America, though certainly examples of this latter category, were unable to operate across confessional lines and function in several different maritime empires simultaneously, in the manner the Sephardic diaspora did.

It is true that Sephardim and Iberian crypto-Jews actually constituted two distinct and in many respects broadly different networks. The former lived in normative Jewish communities in the colonies or homelands of those western European states—principally the Dutch Republic, England, France, and the Italian trading republics—that tolerated organized Jewish life. The latter, on the other hand, lived outwardly as Catholics in mainly (though not only) in Spanish- or Portuguese-speaking societies in which all forms of expression of Jewish allegiance were strictly forbidden. It is also true that those among the descendants of medieval Iberian Jewry who continued to adhere to religious practices, attitudes, and family structures associated with crypto-Jewish allegiance in lands subject of the crowns of Spain and Portugal were only part, and probably a minority, of this crypto-*judío,* "New Christian," or converso population. To complicate matters further, as the years passed, the religiosity of the remaining crypto-Jews in the Peninsula and equally in Ibero-America, as has recently been shown in masterly fashion by Nathan Wachtel, became progressively more fragmented and syncretist in character.[2] Even so, enduring links between these two different, yet connected, diasporas persisted.

These links, consisting of family ties, religious sympathies, and active trading collaboration, provided a framework for lasting interdependency and interaction between these two diasporas, lending their dual system of networks a flexibility and capacity to cross confessional, political, and cultural divides that, in the transatlantic context, seems to have far surpassed that of any other trading diaspora. If many diasporas can be said to have played a notable part in the development of long-distance trade in early modern times, with Greeks, Ashkenazic Jews, Armenians, Huguenots, and ex-patriot French and Genoese, all prominent in different zones of the Atlantic world, no other diaspora could match the capacity of the Sephardic Jewish diaspora and its crypto-Jewish counterpart to cut across and link rival empires, trade systems, and confessional blocs throughout the western Atlantic world.

This capacity to link all the seaborne empires, to connect communities across oceans, and to span the Protestant/Catholic divide was unique and, as a social phenomenon, clearly not merely commercial but also "cross-cultural" and political. For it extended beyond the Protestant/Catholic barrier to cross even the yawning gulf between Christianity and Islam, playing an active role over the centuries in Atlantic Morocco as well as the rest of North Africa and in West Africa. Forming ties between the Protestant, Catholic, and Islamic worlds, it was no less flexible from a political perspective. It may be true that the Sephardim, like other stateless diasporas, were in a weak position, politically, in relation to host societies; but "state-linked diasporas" were usually in a still weaker political position when seeking to penetrate the trade orbits of rival states, which were generally less likely to regard "stateless diasporas" with equivalent political suspicion.[3] In any case, by the late seventeenth century, by which time there were six or seven European transatlantic seaborne empires—the Spanish, Portuguese, British, French, Dutch, and Danish—the Sephardim conspicuously stood out as the only commercial diaspora that penetrated and remained active for substantial periods, albeit in very varying degrees, in all of them.

The interaction between Jews of Iberian origin and the Islamic world was indeed far from marginal to the complex process of transition and adaptation that enabled the descendants of a medieval Spanish Jewry—which in the period before 1492, the year of the formal expulsion of openly professing Jews from Spain, had by no means been orientated toward long-distance trade or maritime activity—to develop successful and resilient transatlantic trading networks during the course of the sixteenth century. This was especially true during the early stages of the formation of the western Sephardic diaspora. I have argued elsewhere that it was far from automatic or a foregone conclusion, for instance, that the rise of the Ottoman Empire in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in the Near East and the Balkans should have created a situation in which Sephardic Jews, rather than other trading diasporas, became the major trading intermediaries between the Ottoman Near East and the Christian West, via Venice and other Italian Adriatic ports.[4] In the late fifteenth century, after the fall of Constantinople to the Turks, in 1453, the Venetian, Florentine, and Genoese trading networks in the areas under Turkish control, as well as the flourishing and far-flung Greek and Armenian diasporas, were in many ways seemingly better placed to handle the long-distance commerce of the Ottoman Empire with the West and with Persia and beyond.

That the Sephardim succeeded where the others did not was partly the result of Ottoman and Iranian state policy. In the former case, the Ottoman Porte, moved by political suspicion of Greek and Italian Christians, put obstacles in the path of the Italian merchant colonies, forcing them to rely on local middlemen under Ottoman control. In the latter case, the Shah sought to draw the main Armenian trade networks eastward and away from the Ottoman sphere of influence. But the unique role of the Sephardim was also partly the result of cultural factors. The Sephardic refugees from Spain and Portugal who streamed into the Ottoman Empire and settled in particularly large numbers in Salonika, Constantinople, and before long, in many lesser places across Greece and the Balkans, because they knew the western Mediterranean as they did, being Spanish-speaking, easily able to adapt to Italian, and able to read the Latin alphabet, were better equipped to form enduring commercial contacts in the West than were the longer-established Greek or Armenian mercantile diasporas emanating from Turkish territory. Forming these links was achieved by a mix of Sephardim and Marranos operating at first especially in Ferrara, Ancona, Florence, and Antwerp, and by the beginning of the seventeenth century predominantly in Venice, Livorno, and Amsterdam.

A new kind of Sephardic commercial diaspora emerged, focused on importing and exporting through Salonika, Constantinople, and such Dalmatian ports as Valona, Ragusa, and later Split (Spalato). Building on negotiated arrangements and contracts made with several Italian princes and also, from the 1580s, with the republic of Venice, and sustaining tenuous but regular links with the crypto-Jews in Spain and Portugal, there developed the intricate combination of politics, religion, family connections, shipping arrangements, and trade that made the subsequent remarkable evolution of an enduring transatlantic Sephardic trading diaspora both possible and viable over time.

Psychologically, religiously, and culturally, the most delicate and fraught part of this complex process of linking up vastly different religious, political, and cultural zones in the sixteenth century occurred where the two parts of the dual system of diasporas initially chiefly converged, namely, in Italy. From the mid-sixteenth century, as the Papacy (backed by the Spanish crown) entered a markedly less tolerant phase, reviving the Roman Inquisition and launching the Counter-Reformation, the position of both those living formally as Jews and those Iberian merchants in Italy who, as Marranos, lived outwardly as Christians but privately nurtured crypto-Jewish tendencies and contacts, became extremely precarious. More and more restrictions on Jewish life and intellectual activity combined with an intensifying campaign against the "heresy" of crypto-Judaism practiced by men who, in papal eyes, were descendants of a community validly, even if forcibly, baptized in the Iberian Peninsula. Most notoriously at Ancona, in the 1550s, but also in many other parts of Italy, until the 1580s including Ferrara, Pisa, Modena, and Venice, Marranos suspected of actively judaizing were placed under surveillance, investigated, arrested, tried, and sporadically executed in numbers sufficient to exert a heavy psychological toll on the entire community.[5]

However, by the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Italy was by no means the only point of convergence where ostensible New Christians, living privately as crypto-Jews even if only sporadically, and normative Sephardic Jews, speaking the same languages, deriving from the same Iberian background, and often having shared family ties, could renew and intensify their social interaction and commercial collaboration. The same process of interlocking the two expanding diasporas evident in Italy throughout the sixteenth century also developed in the ports of western France where Iberian conversos began settling, particularly at Bordeaux and Bayonne, and also in the Low Countries.

In both the French Atlantic ports and in Amsterdam the ensuing process of "rejudaization" of the Marranos was religiously, psychologically, and culturally complex. It was partly driven by external cultural forces and factors, especially the organized Sephardic Jewish diaspora itself, which provided the rabbis, cantors, teachers, and guidelines, as well as models of communal organization; but it was also driven by the impulse (resisted, however, in many families) of a residual crypto-Judaism transferred chiefly from Portugal (frequently via Madrid and northern Spain).[6] During most of the sixteenth century both strands of the vibrant and steadily growing Portuguese New Christian community in Antwerp, that is, both the families sincere in their commitment to Catholicism and those inclined to crypto-Judaism, remained largely isolated from any active pool of organized Jewish life. After dynamic Sephardic congregations arose in Amsterdam and Hamburg, from the 1590s onward, however, a fairly close interaction between the Antwerp crypto-Jews and Dutch Sephardim became an important nexus in the complex tableau knitting the two widely radiating diasporas together.

The transfer of this intricate entwining of networks with all its various social, economic, religious, and political ramifications from the Old World to the New depended on satisfying a number of exacting conditions. In Spain (aside from Mallorca), crypto-Judaism barely survived the first few decades after the Expulsion of 1492; the great bulk of those who had either previously accepted baptism or who did so in 1492, as an alternative to being expelled, assimilated successfully and fairly rapidly into Spanish Catholic society. Hence, after around 1530, it was only in Portugal that a relatively large pool of converso population persisted, much of which tended to adhere to crypto-Jewish practices. This community was estimated at around 30,000 to 50,000 persons, or some 3 percent of the total population of Portugal, the majority consisting of the descendants of those who had left western and central Spain as religious exiles in

1492.[7] The Jews who migrated to Portugal had been forcibly baptized en masse, on the orders of the Portuguese king, in 1497, but they subsequently suffered a degree of pressure, antipathy, and legalized discrimination that largely obstructed their assimilation into Portuguese society. As a result, they developed a separate caste identity, as *cristãos novos* (New Christians), so much so that subsequently (and rather ironically) this group also proved hard to assimilate in Castile and Spanish America after 1580, when they migrated back into Spain.[8]

Consequently, transfer to the New World of an active interaction between Marrano and Sephardic networks required above all a substantial flow of Portuguese converso emigration across the Atlantic. But it also required, given that most of the Spanish Jewish immigrants into Portugal in 1492 had been artisans and petty tradesmen with no mercantile links, a substantial infiltration of the new business world of overseas commerce created since the late fifteenth century by the Portuguese crown acting in concert with the major non-Jewish (often Flemish or Italian) merchants residing in Lisbon at that time. This penetration needed to occur both within Portugal itself and also throughout the Portuguese overseas mercantile system.

The change that provided both the indispensable engine for Portuguese converso entry into maritime mercantile activity in the Old World, and the impetus for transfer to the New, was the spread of the sugar plantations originally established earlier in the Portuguese Atlantic islands to São Tomé, a Portuguese plantation colony off the coast of West Africa, and then, from the 1560s, and on a much larger scale, also to Brazil. While a handful of Portuguese *cristãos novos* had already traded earlier with Brazil, in particular, importing brazilwood, a dyestuff highly prized by the European textile industry, it was unquestionably the advent of Brazilian sugar, after 1560, that lent decisive momentum to the forming of a large Portuguese converso maritime trading community. Equally, this development cemented the relationship between this group—whether domiciled in the Old World or in Brazil—and the Sephardic diaspora. The Brazil traffic, then, first generated a relatively large pool of both crypto-Jewish and Sephardic merchants engaged in, and orientated toward, transatlantic commerce.[9]

Meanwhile, a substantial number of Portuguese New Christians reverted to normative Judaism in Morocco during the sixteenth century, and a remarkable and highly complex interaction arose between Jews of Iberian origin domiciled in North Africa, the Sephardic Jewish congregations permitted by the crowns of Spain and Portugal in several of their North African enclaves—notably Oran, Ceuta, Tangiers, and Melilla—and Portuguese New Christian merchants active in those enclaves who ostensibly remained Catholics.[10] Jews played a quite prominent part in the politics as well as the commerce of Morocco in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and it was there, as well as in the Ottoman Empire, that they first became involved in the intricacies of both anti- and pro-Spanish politics. From the beginning of the seventeenth century, Dutch influence too became significant in Morocco, with Jews again playing a key intermediary role both commercially and politically.[11] It is striking, for example, that the Salé corsairs, who had a considerable impact on the sea-lanes on both the Atlantic and Mediterranean sides of the Straits of Gibraltar during that century and who, in the early stages of their rise to prominence tended to be particularly hostile to Spain, received their guns, munitions, and gunpowder chiefly from Sephardic Jews in Amsterdam.[12] Amsterdam Sephardic Jews also at this time established a trading network, much further south, in Senegal, presumably again in part because of the particular advantages they enjoyed operating in a Muslim cultural context.[13]

Initially, in what until the 1570s remained primarily a Portuguese transatlantic system, Portuguese-speaking conversos based in both Portugal and Brazil played the dominant role, while outwardly observant Sephardic Jews (based at first chiefly in Venice and Pisa but soon predominantly in Amsterdam, Hamburg, and Livorno) played a growing supplementary part, especially in importing Brazilian sugar to Italy and northern Europe. This early pattern was then transformed into a much broader transatlantic system, one in which the two diasporas, crypto-Jewish and western Sephardic, interacted across a much broader canvas, as a result of the union of the two crowns of Spain and Portugal, under Philip II, in 1580. Although the Portuguese New Christians in the Spanish American viceroyalties were already fairly numerous prior to 1580, after that date larger numbers of Portuguese conversos arrived while considerable numbers also began settling, likewise living ostensibly as Catholics, in Spain itself, especially in Madrid, Seville, and other towns of Andalusia. It was especially this latter influx that enabled Portuguese

Jewish merchants to enter the official convoy traffic between Spain and Spanish America on an important scale.

Owing to these new population shifts, then, beginning in the 1580s, crypto-Jewish merchant communities with extensive overseas links became entrenched in the main economic centers of the Spanish American viceroyalties, especially Mexico City, Lima, Veracruz, Puebla, Guadalajara, and Cartagena de Indias and also first became a major presence in the great Andean silver metropolis of Potosí, today in Bolivia. The 1580s also saw the beginning of contraband traffic, first introduced by Portuguese New Christians, linking Peru, via Tucumán, in what is now northwest Argentina, and the River Plate route with Buenos Aires and the Portuguese outposts in southern Brazil.[14] Many of the new arrivals, especially among the men, arrived on Portuguese slaving vessels that reached Spanish America via Angola. A major factor facilitating this transfer of Portuguese New Christians to Spanish America was the policy of the Spanish crown during the period of the union of the two crowns (1580–1640) to import black slaves to the Spanish American colonies exclusively on Portuguese vessels sailing from West Africa furnished with special licenses to enter Spanish American ports. This system simultaneously expanded the scale of the slave trade to Spanish America and tightened the economic links between the hitherto largely separate maritime trading empires of Portugal and Spain while also encouraging the further development of illicit forms of trade in valuable commodities, in exchange for bullion, between Lisbon and the Spanish colonies. This smuggling traffic was carried on both by means of the Portuguese slaving vessels and the Tucumán contraband route linking Potosí to Brazil, whence goods returned on the sugar ships to Lisbon and Oporto.

This success of Portuguese New Christian merchants, brokers, itinerant traders, and maritime agents in establishing viable trading networks that spanned vast distances in the New World clearly owed much to the immigrants' common Portuguese Marrano religious and cultural background as well as the maritime opportunities opened up by sixteenth-century Portuguese maritime expansion. But, structurally and psychologically, the religious-ethnic-commercial diaspora that actually came to span the Atlantic world after 1580 required considerably more than this. Research on the Portuguese conversos who migrated to Mexico, and especially new research on the crypto-Jewish community of Cartagena de

Indias, in New Granada (today Colombia), reveals the crucial importance of both Seville and Madrid as cultural, political, and economic bridges. These great international metropolises and imperial melting pots enabled recent immigrants from Portugal simultaneously to consolidate their veiled crypto-Jewish culture while adapting to the institutions, requisites, and exigencies of life in a wider Spanish-speaking imperium and mercantile milieu. In this way family networks, often originating in particular districts, notably around Castelobranco and the Beira district of east-central Portugal near the Spanish frontier, came to form a novel kind of close-knit but flexible crypto-Jewish trading and marriage system, one that was simultaneously inward-looking and yet superbly adjusted to organize family trading networks in the New World. At the same time, it was adept at connecting with both the crypto-Jewish and the Sephardic communities settled in France, Italy, and the Low Countries.

Remarkably, several of the families that congregated in Seville subsequently regularly intermarried, perpetuating a pattern already fixed earlier in Castelobranco, continuing to remain closely linked through marriage as well as trade for generations, not only in Spain but also long after emigrating to New Granada, Peru, and New Spain.[15] Such networks proved effective and enduring over vast distances because of the high degree of group solidarity characteristic of the Portuguese New Christian caste, an advantage acquired, however, at a high price, being in large part a consequence of shared feelings of estrangement, rejection, and persecution. Until the major Inquisition onslaught of the 1640s, which effectively broke the back of Portuguese crypto-Judaism in the main commercial centers of the Spanish Indies, sporadic outbursts of harassment and persecution certainly led to the imprisonment and execution of a sufficient number of New Christians to drive some sections of this community to diffuse still further into the Spanish American interior. Nonetheless, these remarkable transatlantic social networks were neither altogether suppressed nor was their activity wholly disrupted. As a result, crypto-Jewish cells were established in several extremely remote regions, including Tucumán and the small ports of western Venezuela. Another instance of this phenomenon was the migration of crypto-Jews at the beginning of the seventeenth century into New Mexico, an area that had very little commercial importance but where Portuguese Marranos were largely, albeit not entirely, safe from the attentions of the Inquisition.[16]

Spain's Atlantic primacy was increasingly compromised from the end of the sixteenth century. But if the Spanish Atlantic imperial system progressively weakened after 1600, and with it the commerce of Madrid, Mexico City, Lima, and Seville, the expansion of Dutch and, later, English and French trade and colonization in the Caribbean area, the Guyanas, and northern Brazil (from 1624 to 1645) created fresh possibilities for commercial interaction between Portuguese crypto-Jewish networks entrenched in the New World and normative Sephardic congregations in Europe. Spanish officials both in Spain and in the New World were acutely conscious of this growing cooperation, and their earlier suspicion of the Portuguese New Christians as religious betrayers and heretics now came to be tinged by an additional element: fear of political subversion. For not only were more and more New Christians migrating from Portugal and Spain to Holland, Hamburg, France, and Italy, where they reverted to normative Judaism, but a sufficient number of rejudaized Sephardim re-entered the Iberian empires to reinforce the crypto-Jewish tendency in the American viceroyalties—a process that has been documented in some detail for Mexico.[17]

It is certain that a process regarded by the Inquisition as religious subversion was taking place, and it is scarcely open to doubt that this religious subversion also carried with it an element of political subversion. No doubt the reality was considerably more prosaic than the lurid picture conjured up by the more paranoid Inquisitors and administrators. No doubt the accusations, at the time of the Dutch capture of Bahia, in 1624, that the Portuguese New Christians were political as well as religious traitors colluding with the Dutch, were exaggerated. Nevertheless, the already deep suspicion of the Portuguese intensified, and there is little doubt that some converso merchants in New Spain and at Cartagena did have direct links with Holland and subversive contacts with the Dutch West India Company.[18] Before 1620, Dutch interloping in the Americas tended to be concentrated along the coasts of Santo Domingo, Cuba, and western Venezuela, where there were many sheltered inlets and remote bays highly suitable for smuggling. These same regions also produced a high-quality tobacco, "Cracas toeback," much sought after at that time in Holland. By contrast, between 1620 and the early 1650s, the main focus of Dutch enterprise was in northern Brazil, where, at Recife, the first organized Sephardic community in the New World took shape in the 1630s and where at least some local New Christians are known to have reverted to normative Judaism. Meanwhile, the Inquisition onslaught of the late 1630s in Peru and the 1640s in New Spain and New Granada so drastically weakened the crypto-Jewish networks in Ibero-America that from the 1640s onward, the balance in commercial importance shifted markedly and irreversibly toward the organized Sephardic communities in the New World, which, in the 1640s, began to spread also to Barbados and other parts of the Caribbean.

At the same time, the political secession of Portugal from the Spanish empire, in 1640, followed by that of Brazil a year later, and the long and bitter war between Spain and Portugal which ensued, lasting down to 1668, caused the fragmentation of the hitherto relatively coherent network of Portuguese converso links extending across the Atlantic world. In particular, the Portuguese secession (which was immediately followed by a ban imposed by the Spanish crown on the entry of Portuguese shipping into Spanish and Spanish American ports) badly disrupted ties between the Portuguese New Christian merchants resident in Portugal and Brazil and the Portuguese crypto-Jewish networks in New Spain, New Granada, Venezuela, and Peru, virtually putting a complete stop to the Portuguese slave trade to the Spanish American dependencies.[19] The contraband route linking Peru with Brazil via the River Plate and Buenos Aires was also largely disrupted.

The re-emergence of Portugal as an Atlantic power in her own right split the Marrano communities of the Iberian world into two groups with contrary political allegiances, a tension noticeable even among different groups of Sephardic families and individuals trading with Spain and Portugal resident in Holland and at Hamburg. This situation was further convoluted when the Dutch Republic, which in the early 1640s had been aligned with Portugal and remained fiercely hostile to Spain, veered round toward alignment with Spain and hostility to Portugal, following the great revolt of the Catholic Portuguese planters in northern Brazil against the Dutch and Dutch Jews in 1645 and the Dutch-Spanish peace of 1648. Portugal, from the 1650s onward, settled more and more into close political, strategic, and economic relations with England. After the final loss of their Brazilian territory, in 1654, at the end of the first Anglo-Dutch War (1652–54), the Dutch switched their chief effort in the New World to building up their base at Curaçao as a general Caribbean slaving and commercial depot and establishing organized trade networks radiating from Curaçao across the Caribbean and via western Venezuela to Bogotá, Quito, and Peru. In this way, from the 1660s onward a new system of transatlantic commerce emerged in which the Sephardim at Amsterdam and Curaçao acted as crucial intermediaries.

At the height of its prosperity, at the end of the seventeenth century, Curaçao boasted a fleet of some eighty barques and sloops, a substantial proportion owned by Sephardic Jews.[20] At the same time, from 1667, when they captured Surinam from the English, the Dutch established a flourishing new sugar plantation economy in the Guyanas which to some extent replaced the rich source of sugar they had lost in northern Brazil. The substantial Sephardic community that established itself in Surinam emigrated in part from other parts of the New World, in part from Holland, and in part from elsewhere in the Old World.[21] The various normative Sephardic congregations that took root in the New World during the third quarter of the seventeenth century at Curaçao, Barbados, Joden Savanne (Suriname), Saint Thomas, Saint Eustatius, New Amsterdam (after 1664 New York), and Jamaica were all orientated chiefly toward Amsterdam, though the Jews settling in those places, like their predecessors in Dutch Brazil in the second quarter of the century, also had close ties with the Sephardic congregations in Italy, France, Hamburg, and (from the 1650s) London. The largest of the synagogues, Mikve Israel, on Curaçao, constructed in the years 1730–32 to replace an earlier and smaller structure, a rather grand edifice still surviving today, remained the largest synagogue building in the western hemisphere down to the nineteenth century and long continued to serve as the religious, cultural, and commercial headquarters of the Jewish Caribbean.

The rapid expansion of English power and overseas trade during the Cromwellian period and the rise of the Sephardic community in London, as well as the parliamentary expedition of 1651, which largely eliminated Dutch influence, along with the English royalists from Barbados, certainly enabled England (and the Sephardim in London) to create a second network of transatlantic links that was, from the outset, a formidable rival to the Dutch and Dutch Sephardic commercial system based on Amsterdam, Curaçao, and the Dutch West India Company's fragile but for the moment continued domination of the slaving and trading depots in West Africa.[22] Undoubtedly, by the late seventeenth century both England and France had outstripped the Dutch Republic as naval powers and both at that time possessed larger complexes of sugar-plantation colonies. Nevertheless, down to the end of the Habsburg period in Spain and Spanish America and the onset of the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–13), the Dutch continued to have more trade with Spanish America and better access to the remaining interior trade routes and crypto-Jewish networks, particularly in Andean South America. The main reason for this is that the Spanish crown after 1663 preferred to organize the purchase of black slaves for the Spanish American colonies via the Dutch West India Company, and the Curaçao entrepôt, rather than allow slaves to be shipped to Spanish America by the English or French, both of whom represented a much greater strategic threat to Spanish interests in the New World than did the Dutch.[23] Much of the trade in commodities other than slaves then tended to follow in the wake of the slave trade being largely plied by the same ships and along the same routes.

Nevertheless, the rapid growth of English trade with Portugal, Brazil, and the Caribbean, as well as West Africa, and from the 1660s also of French Caribbean and West African commerce, fundamentally altered the character of the Atlantic world. Even parts of the Spanish Atlantic system were now coming under growing English domination. A notable example of this shift in the balance of maritime and economic power in an area where the active participation of both the crypto-Jewish and Sephardic diasporas as intermediaries remained important was the commerce of the Canary Islands. Here the main export in the seventeenth century was wine, whose principal market was England. Although Portuguese New Christian merchants resident in the Canaries and active in the Canary wine trade also had regular trading (and secret religious) links with the Sephardim in Holland, after the first Anglo-Dutch War (1652–54) their orientation was increasingly toward London.[24]

A key asset enabling the Dutch to shore up their ascendancy in the contraband trade with Spanish America, for a time, down to the first decade of the eighteenth century, was the unofficial settlement, or rather commercial staging post, which they established around 1693 at Tucacas, on the remote promontory of Paraguana, in the extreme northwest of Venezuela. With the use of this depot, supplied from nearby Curaçao, the Dutch and the Curaçao Sephardim were able to expand their exporting of spices, brandy, linen, paper, and slaves to Coro, Maracaibo, Río de la Hacha, and points further west in New Granada and beyond. Jacob Senior (alias Felipe Henriques) (ca. 1660–1718), for instance, a Sephardic shipowner who spent long periods on the Venezuelan mainland and was among those most active in developing the Tucacas entrepôt trade, around 1700, received most of the goods he sent there from a leading Sephardic exporter of Amsterdam named Abraham Fundão.[25]

During the course of the eighteenth century, several different trends and processes converged to weaken further the role of both the Sephardic diaspora and the remnants of the crypto-Jewish diaspora. A notable setback for both groups was the sharp reaction in Bourbon Spain, in the years after 1716, against the Portuguese New Christian merchant community of Madrid and Seville (and their Sephardic contacts), which had tended to side with the anti-Bourbon forces and their British and Dutch allies during the War of the Spanish Succession.[26] But a still more important general factor undermining the importance of the Marrano and Sephardic diasporas in the Atlantic system was the growing ascendancy of Britain in Atlantic trade and in the transatlantic slave trade, and of the North American colonies as a maritime mercantile bloc in their own right. Sephardic and converso networks were far less important to the commerce of the British Empire and the ports of British North America than these had been to the empires of the Portuguese, Spanish, Venetians, and Dutch. At the same time, the London Sephardic congregation, and those of New York and Newport, Rhode Island, tended to become religiously and culturally, as well as economically, more distant and independent from that of Amsterdam, which tended to weaken the unity and cohesion of the western Sephardic diaspora itself.[27]

Yet another significant factor was the growing role of France, which captured and retained a large share of both the Caribbean sugar trade and the slave trade during the eighteenth century. For the French crown, following Louis XIV's expulsion of the Jews from the French Caribbean islands in 1685, when nearly one hundred Sephardim were expelled from Martinique alone (most migrating to Curaçao), went to some lengths to prevent the re-establishment of formal Sephardic congregations on French territory in the New World, despite the continuing extensive participation of the Sephardic communities of Bordeaux and Bayonne in all aspects of French Atlantic trade. Communal relations between the Sephardic congregations in Holland and those in France remained close after 1713. But whereas migration had earlier flowed mainly from France to Amsterdam, the greatly weakened position of the Dutch trading system, especially after around 1740, tended to reverse the trend, prompting Sephardic emigration from Holland to the French ports as well as London, New York, and the British Caribbean.[28]

Meanwhile, the relatively large number of Inquisition investigations of accused judaizers in the northeast of Brazil during the second quarter of the eighteenth century as well as the persistence of crypto-Jewish practices in New Granada, New Mexico and doubtless other places shows that Ibero-American crypto-Judaism was far from dead. There were also still at least some Sephardim, born into communities where their religion could be freely practiced, who gravitated to Ibero-America, as they did also to eighteenth-century Spain. One of the last conversos to be burned by the Inquisition in Spanish America was Fernando de Medina (alias Moíses Gomez), a native of Bordeaux, executed at a small auto-da-fé in Mexico City in June 1699.[29] But the evidence also shows that a steady process of attenuation, assimilation, and religious and cultural dilution was taking place which, though doubtless temporarily arrested or delayed by the presence of the Dutch and Dutch Sephardim in Brazil between 1630 and 1654 and along the coasts of Venezuela and New Granada in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, nevertheless in the longer run continued inexorably.[30]

By the second half of the eighteenth century there was no longer any question of a meaningful, organized social and commercial interaction between the crypto-Jewish remnants in Ibero-America and the western Sephardic diaspora. The French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, in any case, destroyed the remaining mercantile importance of Amsterdam in the New World and with it eliminated the last shreds of what had once been an imposing transatlantic long-distance network of social, religious, and commercial interaction, one that cut across the boundaries of the all the European transatlantic maritime empires. Even so, it was not only the fairly numerous organized Sephardic congregations of the Caribbean and the North American east coast which continued to bear witness to the history of a truly remarkable transatlantic phenomenon. There were still hidden outposts of a residual crypto-Jewish presence in regions as diverse as Brazil, New Mexico, and Venezuela, some of which were only rediscovered by those interested in such vestiges during the course of the twentieth century.

CHAPTER TWO

Jewish History in an Age of Atlanticism

ADAM SUTCLIFFE

Are we all Atlanticists now? The sustained growth of interest in Atlantic history over the past few decades would certainly suggest so, as David Armitage, surveying the rapid diffusion and incipient institutionalization of this field, has recently noted.[1] What started in part as a subversive challenge to traditional nation-based narratives has now become part of the historiographical mainstream: most early modernists working today on the territories bordering the north Atlantic, or the islands within it, would unhesitatingly endorse the importance of the transnational and intercontinental flows—cultural, intellectual, and economic—that form the core subject matter of the study of the Atlantic world. In an era of enduring historiographical provincialism, in which the nation remains the dominant organizational unit for the study of the past, Atlantic history has emphasized connections and, in drawing out the interpenetration of British and American history in particular, has indisputably transformed and invigorated both these fields.[2]

Jewish history has been slow to engage with this oceanic turn, for reasons that are not altogether surprising. The transformation of Jewish life in Europe at the dawn of the modern era was centrally related to the extension of legal and political rights to Jews by governments and was marked by a widespread concern among Jews, in response to the implicit quid pro quo of Emancipation, to demonstrate that they saw themselves above all not as part of a transnational ethno-religious body but as loyal citizens of the states in which they lived. Much of European Jewish history in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is essentially the story of the Jewish struggle for integration into the nation-based cultural and political map. This struggle has left deep historiographical traces: a nation-by-nation approach has dominated the study of the Jewish past, with a tendency, in comparative work, to posit a hierarchy of advancement among different national communities, with German Jewry generally blazing the trail followed later and more hesitantly by others.[3] American Jewry, meanwhile, has been no less concerned to demonstrate its patriotism, and this has led to a tendency, elsewhere in the Americas as well as in the United States, to frame Jewish history within national narratives.[4]

It is, however, indubitably the case that Sephardic and converso Jews played a vitally important role in the commercial networks of the early modern Atlantic. The Sephardim were, as Jonathan Israel has shown so magnificently, the international "cross-cultural brokers" par excellence from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth century, possessing a cultural malleability and a geographical reach unmatched by any other trading diaspora in this period.[5] The attention now being accorded to the Jewish past within the context of Atlantic history is belated—reflecting a familiar lag between the emergence of new historiographical trends and their application within Jewish history—but it is no less welcome because of this. However, the challenge of integrating an Atlantic perspective into Jewish history extends beyond the decentering of nation-based paradigms. In an Atlantic context, in which ethnic definitions of Jewishness were generally more important than religious or communal ones, and in which personal identities were often highly fluid and indeterminate, the very organizational category of "Jewish history" is itself stretched and problematized.

Given that New Christians greatly outnumbered "open" Jews in the Americas during the colonial era, the distinctly Jewish nature of this diasporic network was elastic and in some environments minimal. While Sephardic commercial networks were unambiguously based on bonds of shared Jewish ethnicity, intensified by the racially exclusionary "Old Christian" attitudes that prevailed within the Spanish empire, it would do violence to the complexity of converso identity to interpret all aspects of New Christian experience through the lens of a presumptively underlying and determinate Jewishness.[6] It is also important to remember that Sephardic Jews and crypto-Jews operated not only across empires but also within them. To describe them, following Paolo Bernardini, as practitioners of a "milder colonization," leaves us to ask who, precisely, were the operators of the less mild forms of colonization, and to what extent these practices were starkly separable from those involving Jews.[7] Despite the particularity of their outsider status in European culture (whether they converted to Christianity or not), Jews cannot be neatly extricated from the wider colonial projects of which they were among the agents and beneficiaries.

The Atlantic has been a uniquely productive site for the exploration of the hybrid nature of human identities. Paul Gilroy, in his pathbreaking *Black Atlantic*, defined his exploration of the complex intertwinement of black history and culture in Africa, the Caribbean, America, and Britain as animated by the desire "to transcend both the structures of the nation state and the constraints of ethnicity and national particularity."[8] Both Jewish and black collectivities have, as Gilroy points out, often been held together as much by the prejudices of outsiders as by any compelling internal communalities. This insight holds particularly true for the early modern era, during which, despite the very different status of the two groups in the New World, lines of ethnic demarcation marked both Jews and blacks as outsiders, overpowering the significance of distinctions of language or religion. However, the parallels between Jewish and black experience in diaspora have, as Gilroy also notes, been explored only very hesitantly.[9] Not only does such parallelism cause discomfort for some on both sides, but the idea of a bounded and stable ethnic identity is something to which many in both groups remain deeply attached.[10] The key intellectual promise of Atlantic history, however, lies not only in its power to destabilize traditional nation-based narratives of the past but also in its challenge to the imagined fixity of all social categories.

The idea of Atlantic history, as Bernard Bailyn has recently shown, rose in tandem with the political emergence and entrenchment of the geostrategic notion of an Atlantic community in the Cold War era. Articulated first in the immediate postwar years by Catholic historians concerned to galvanize the protection of western Christianity from the communist peril, the notion of an "Atlantic community" gathered strength as global political divisions hardened in the 1950s. The notion of an eighteenth-century "Atlantic revolution" encompassing both France and America, and espoused in those countries by Jacques Godechot and Robert Palmer, respectively, remained controversial in this period precisely because of perceptions of its presentist ideological partisanship.[11] In the 1960s and '70s the intellectual agenda of Atlantic history broadened notably, engaging more fully with both economic and intellectual patterns of circulation in both the Anglo- and the Ibero-American worlds and with the multiple tentacles of the slave trade, in particular. However, the overdetermination of "the West" continued to hover in the background. Historians of the Atlantic, Bailyn asserts, were professionally disengaged from politics, but they were nonetheless "people of their time," and a consciousness of their geopolitical affiliation "found natural expression in the larger amplitudes of the field."[12]

The politics of Atlantic history today deserves no less honest an examination of its allegiances and implications. Why has Atlantic history entered its greatest boom in the period since the transformations of 1989 and attained its current heights at a moment when political Atlanticism is so severely strained? It is perhaps precisely because of the apparent precariousness of the cultural and political bonds between the United States and Europe that so many in the historical profession have rallied behind Atlantic history, in opposition to anti-European insularity and conservatism in America, and also against sweeping anti-Americanism in Europe. (Bailyn has noted the striking over-representation of foreign-trained, and particularly British, scholars in precisely the elite history departments in the United States where an Atlanticist perspective has most flourished.)[13] However, if this is the case, then this strategy certainly carries with it significant dangers. In a historiographical landscape in which the study of global interconnections is increasingly central, reflecting a contemporary context in which the complexity and breadth of these webs is more visible than ever before, the privileging of specifically Atlantic bonds runs the risk of retrenching divisions between "the West" and "the Rest" at a time when what seems most needed is an effort to break down the barriers of ignorance that reinforce this binary.

In institutional terms, the turn to the Atlantic has played an important role in staunching declining interest in British history at American universities. It is worth, however, pondering the alternative strategies that could have been taken (and to a lesser degree also have been taken) in the reconceptualization of British history beyond its traditional internalist paradigm. The more thorough integration of British history with that of the European continent—which, against the backdrop of the troubled but ongoing process of European integration, carries its own implicit politics—continues to inspire resistance on both sides of the Anglophone Atlantic. Looking beyond the Atlantic, a deepening engagement with the global legacy of empire perhaps carries with it a more profound potential to disrupt both the presumptive centrality of the metropole and also the salience of the nation as a key organizing principle in historical research.[14]

For American historians, there is often a semiconscious political morality tale interwoven into the turn to the Atlantic: by emphasizing the economic interdependence, cultural hybridity, and political complexity of the early modern Atlantic, we denaturalize views of the United States as habitually self-involved, assertively powerful, and exceptional. However, if the United States today is all those things—and most people, American and not, would acknowledge that it is—then the question of how it came to be so is perhaps not so much challenged as evaded by Atlantic history. The "offshoring" of historiographical initiative and energy risks leading to a relative disengagement from the "onshore" particularities of American history, leaving an open field to more conservative or nationalist historians in shaping narratives of the development of the United States and laying claim to its foundational political rhetoric. David Armitage's advocacy of "cis-Atlantic history"—national or regional history within an Atlantic context—offers a useful counterweight to the possible dangers of overemphasis on transnational flows of contact and exchange.[15] As an important example of politically engaged cis-Atlantic American history we might turn to Eric Foner's demonstration of how the notion of freedom, while rooted in the shared ideals of the British Atlantic, underwent a specifically American process of transformation, intensification, and democratization in the second half of the eighteenth century.[16]

Within Jewish history the turn toward themes and questions of transnationality also reflects a desire to move beyond nation-based historical narratives. Until not so long ago the figure of the "Court Jew," as both intercessor and partial assimilator in the courts of Central Europe, played a key role in accounts of the advancement and modernization of Jewish life in the eighteenth century.[17] Lois Dubin and David Sorkin's contrasting typology of the "Port Jew"—merchants active in emerging port cities rather than established inland courts, enjoying a relatively favorable legal and civil status and closely connected to a wider Jewish mercantile diaspora—has been extremely influential in directing attention toward the equally if not much more important role of these port settings in heralding change in Jewish life in Europe and beyond.[18] Interest in the distinctiveness of Jewish port communities echoes the themes that have emerged from studies of port cities in the early modern Atlantic world, particularly as crucibles for the exchange of ideas among their notably diverse and vigorously interactive populations.[19] Whereas Court Jews, according to traditional accounts, led the way to Jewish modernity by being the first Jews gradually to gain acceptance from and partially assimilate into the dominant culture, the Port Jew pathway to modernity is in contrast characterized by a collective shift of values and beliefs shaped by living in an open and diverse environment of commercial pragmatism and cultural tolerance.

This gentle, organic, and relatively egalitarian vision of Jewish modernization is certainly seductive, and also in large measure persuasive. In contrast to standard accounts of the Haskalah as a highly programmatic movement, Lois Dubin has suggested a more nuanced narrative, showing, in the context of Trieste, that the ideas of the Berlin maskilim caused little sensation and were adopted selectively by Triestine Jewry in the late eighteenth century according to what seemed useful and familiar to them.[20] However, it would be wrong to imagine early modern port cities as utopias of tolerance, understanding, and cultural empathy. In Amsterdam, for example, the Sephardic rabbis and lay leadership attempted to the best of their abilities to minimize social interaction between Jews and non-Jews, taking frequent recourse to the *herem*—communal ban—in order to enforce the boundedness of the Sephardic community.[21] The desire for collective respectability and religious normativity not infrequently strained against the temptations of life in fast-moving, informal, and diverse merchant ports.

Early modern Port Jews of course did not exist only, or even primarily, around the Atlantic. The commerce of Trieste was decisively oriented toward the east, while in Livorno, the most important Mediterranean port in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and home to one of the largest Sephardic settlements in western Europe, close commercial ties were sustained with similarly westernized Sephardim in Aleppo, Izmir, and elsewhere in the Levant and North Africa, as well as with Hindu merchants in Goa.[22] Early modern contacts and exchanges between Christian Europe and the Islamic world tend to be overshadowed by a focus on conflict between the West and the Ottoman Empire. In the Jewish context the suppression of consciousness of these connections is particularly un-fortunate and forms part of a wider cultural effort on the part of western Jews, since the early nineteenth century, to draw a stark separation between the orientalized romance of medieval al-Andalus and a decisively western Jewish modernity.[23] Atlantic Jewish history, if not placed within a global context, risks further reinforcing this misleading and unhelpful division.

For all these caveats, the significance of Sephardic Jewry in the early modern Atlantic economy is unquestionable. All tightly knit diasporic minorities were, as Peter Mathias has pointed out, at a distinct advantage in Atlantic commerce. In an environment of risk, in which information flowed slowly and opaquely and commercial legal enforcement was weak, access to credit was essential for successful trading. Credit was dependent on trust, and it was this that intertwined networks of consanguinity, religion, and culture—among Scots and Quakers as well as Jews—sustained particularly well. Relationships of trust were reinforced by the threat of intense disapproval or worse for community members known for dishonesty, while bonds of trust nurtured over generations enabled established kinship groups to enjoy what Matthias calls "the benefits of cumulative advantage."[24] Huguenot and Basque Atlantic trading diasporas were similarly underpinned by the cultivation of close kinship networks, as Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert shows in his essay in this volume.

Most of these diasporic communities leave only a faint sociological trace in the contemporary Americas, having long ago largely assimilated into the broader white settler mainstream. The Sephardic diaspora in this respect stands out as an exception: numerous surviving and even thriving Jewish communities in the western hemisphere trace their roots to the early modern era. This retrospective gaze, however, readily obscures the commercial pragmatism that motivated and sustained these early Sephardic settlements, just as it did those of other diasporic minorities. The Portuguese Jewish entrepreneurs who first settled in Suriname and Curaçao, discussed by Wim Klooster in this volume, thought and acted essentially within a short-term horizon of speculative commerce. Nonetheless, they figure in historical memory as the "founding fathers" of two Sephardic Jewish communities that proudly still exist today. Both communities, however, remain only very tenuously connected to their moments of origin, having been transformed almost beyond recognition since the era of early settlement. In Suriname, Jewish plantation culture was abandoned in the late eighteenth century: "the jungle took over once more, . . . covering the synagogue and cemetery of Joden Savanna with tropical growth," as Robert Cohen evocatively describes the process.[25] The Sephardim of Curaçao, meanwhile, far from sustaining a chauvinistic Iberianism, have since the eighteenth century played a key role in the development of the island's cross-ethnic creole language, Papiamentu.[26]

Jewish settlement in the New World was always overdetermined, both because of the unique religious signification borne by the Jews in Christian theology and because of the hopes that circulated within the Sephardic community for a transformation, in this new environment, of the economic, political, and even theological basis of Jewish existence.[27] In the mid-seventeenth century, Jews and non-Jews shared a common language of utopian and millenarian optimism, in anticipation of the possibility of a flourishing of Jewish religious freedom and agricultural productivity in the Americas. Millenarian currents were fueled by the notion, advanced by, among others, Menasseh ben Israel, that the native Americans were descended from the ten lost tribes of Israel, and were thus themselves Jews.[28] These biblical associations also resonated beyond the specifically Jewish case: Benjamin Schmidt has shown how the expectantly redemptive New World utopianism of Menasseh ben Israel's *Hope of Israel* (1650) drew heavily on the common language and imagery of Dutch Republicanism.[29] Even when swept up in messianic fervor, as was João de Yllán on Curaçao in the 1650s and '60s, the Sephardim attested not only to their Jewish particularity but also to their embeddedness within a wider Judeo-Christian cultural formation, in which commercial, political, and theological narratives of colonial settlement were closely intertwined.

The view from the present most readily distorts the early history of Jewish settlement in what later became the United States. The events in New Amsterdam in 1654, commemorated with great fanfare in 2004 as the foundational moment of 350 years of American Jewish history, were in no sense stamped with the mythically "American" values of tolerance and inclusion that much recent celebration has tried to imbue them with. Faced with the arrival of a huddle of Sephardic migrants from Dutch Brazil, the Dutch West India Company governor Peter Stuyvesant (unsuccessfully) petitioned, as is well known, to his superiors in Amsterdam to allow him to expel these "hateful enemies and blasphemers of the name of Christ."[30] The grudging and unceremonious nature of this arrival has been obscured by the mythologization of 1654, which has now been shrouded within the foundational myths of a nation that was not to come into existence for more than a century. The beginnings of Jewish settlement on the North American mainland were shaped at every step by the rivalries and realities of long-distance trade and thus could scarcely have had less connection to the later emergence of American independence. Only an Atlantic perspective, rather than a national one, can, as Arthur Kiron has cogently argued, rescue our understanding of the first settlements of Jews in North America from the distorting lenses of the quest for national and communal origins.[31]

The celebratory mode of Jewish historiography is most awkwardly discomfited by the topic of slavery, the serious examination of which, as Jonathan Schorsch has shown, has been studiously avoided by most leading historians of early modern Atlantic Jewry.[32] While certainly not highlighting the issue, Arnold Wiznitzer nonetheless acknowledges that in Dutch Brazil—where, between 1633 and 1645, Jewish society attained its high-water mark in terms of religious and economic freedoms—Jews also "dominated the slave trade," leading on at least one occasion to the postponement of a slave auction scheduled on a Jewish holiday.[33] Discussion of Jewish involvement in slave trading has in recent decades been heavily and often unpleasantly charged—though this has at least led to a considerable amount of careful scholarly work on the subject, providing us with a much clearer picture of Jewish involvement in the slave trade and scotching polemical distortions and exaggerations.[34] With regard to the behavior of Jews as slaveholders, Schorsch has recently concluded, based on extensive research, that these overwhelmingly reflected surrounding cultural norms and that, despite considerable biblical and halakhic material on the subject, "Jewish slaveholding in the Americas bore few Jewish particularities."[35] Once again, it is the lack of any significant behavioral or attitudinal differences between Jews and non-Jews that a focus on this aspect of colonial practice most strikingly highlights. It is to nonethnic factors—and most importantly to the differences in the ratio between whites and blacks in the various slaveholding locales—that we should look in order to explain the wide diversity in Europeans' treatment of Africans around the early modern Atlantic.[36]

In engaging in sexual relations with their female slaves, and not infrequently fathering children by them, Jewish slaveholders were also reflecting the prevalent norms of plantation behavior. However, the "inevitability of miscegenation," as Aviva Ben-Ur describes the background to the emergence of the Euro-African Jewish population in Suriname that she discusses in this volume, had, it seems, particularly complex ramifications among the Sephardim. On the one hand, as Ben-Ur shows, the Jewishness of mixed-race offspring was acknowledged—but on the other, their separate and inferior status was vigilantly policed. Even as Suriname Jewry was creolized and the nature of Jewish identity thus rendered more complex, a color-based racial hierarchy was rigorously preserved. Similar intricacies governed the emergence of other, non-Jewish creole communities around the Caribbean. However, the small size of the Caribbean Jewish communities, and the extremely tight tradition of ethnic affiliation among the Sephardim, led to the emergence of particularly complex and finely graded forms of hybrid identity within these Jewish worlds.

The articulation and preservation of varied forms of hybrid identity was, indeed, the one key cultural respect in which the Jews of the early modern Atlantic did stand out as particularly remarkable. It was, as we have noted, above all the Sephardic ability to cross cultural borders, adapting to different environments while sustaining cohesion as a diasporic minority, that made them of such key importance as economic intermediaries. Whether in Europe, where the crypto-Jews of southwest France were a vital conduit in the seventeenth century between Spain and the trading networks of the Sephardic diaspora, or in Dutch Brazil, where Sephardim of Portuguese origin were uniquely positioned to act as similar intermediaries between the Portuguese and Dutch environments, it was the linguistic, cultural, and religious versatility of the Sephardim that lay behind their commercial significance.[37] The functioning of the diaspora depended crucially on its intricate diversity, encompassing observant Jews, New Christians, and intermediary crypto-Jews of varied hues, and communities substantially integrated into Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, English, and other cultures, without undermining or eclipsing the distinctively Sephardic bonds on which collective identification and trust were based.

The self-understanding of the Sephardim was both highly particular and extremely fluid. Rooted in a blood-based sense of separatism essentially derived, ironically, from the Iberian notions of purity of blood that had functioned on the peninsula above all to exclude Jews, the Sephardic *nação*, in the New World in particular, tempered chauvinism with pragmatism, as their attitudes toward Jews of mixed race clearly demonstrate.[38] The most extreme fluidity of identity was manifested by those who crossed religious boundaries. Marrano converts typically exhibited a complex layering of identity, intermingling past with present, as Ronnie Perelis discusses in his essay in this volume. Converso "renegades"—who, temporarily or definitively, reverted from Judaism to Catholicism—appear even more mysterious. However, David Graizbord has argued in his fascinating study that these individuals should not be seen as tragically confused or as deep hypocrites, but rather as engaging in a form of "pragmatic acculturation" that made sense in the context of their lives.[39] Crossing borders often necessitated such radical pragmatism, an openness to which, while materially and perhaps also psychically risky, also offered both commercial and intellectual rewards: Spinoza, after all, was a renegade Marrano.[40]

The political loyalties of the Atlantic Sephardim were similarly pragmatic and malleable. In direct contrast to the strained emphasis in so many apologetic nation-based histories on the exemplary patriotism and loyalty of the Jews, it is legitimate to suggest that in the early modern era—in which cultures of patriotism were in any case in an early stage of development—the transnational Jews had particularly weak political loyalties and that this was a significant factor in their commercial success. Many Sephardim simultaneously sustained Iberian and Dutch or English attachments even through periods of war between these powers, while Sephardic intercommunal networks of communication and hierarchy straddled the frontiers of the rival imperial systems, with Amsterdam long remaining the supreme "mother community" for the Sephardim of the British Caribbean.[41] It is clear that Jewish involvement in smuggling was significant: Stephen Fortune, for example, has documented the dramatic profits derived from clandestine trade by the Jews of Jamaica.[42] Locally controlled trade in the Caribbean was invariably predominantly contraband—and, as Jacob Price has pointed out, the more trade in an Atlantic port city was locally controlled, the more diverse and dynamic its economy.[43] Smuggling and success thus went hand in hand. Far from being exemplary patriots, it could better be argued that the early modern

Sephardim were exemplary non-patriots, sustaining international commerce as well as their own complex cultural networks and identities, precisely because they remained aloof from theological divisions and political rivalries.

These networks, and the identities that underpinned them, were not, however, sustained indefinitely. We are habituated to think of the early modern period as an era of beginnings: the very chronological descriptor suggests as much. However, as Jonathan Israel has shown, by the mid-eighteenth century the western Sephardic trading diaspora was unmistakably running out of steam. While increasing numbers of Sephardim were falling into the ranks of the poor, elite members of the "nation" on both sides of the Atlantic moved toward assimilated rentier lifestyles, distancing themselves from the troubles of their communities and converting to Christianity in high numbers.[44] Just as commercial success in the seventeenth century had been inextricably connected to a particularly vital and flexible cultural formation, commercial and cultural decline in the eighteenth century were closely intertwined. The challenges of frontier living, the seduction of assimilation, and also the more rationalist cultural mood of the Enlightenment era, all contributed to an erosion of the bonds that knitted together the disparate elements of Sephardic identity and diasporic solidarity; and as these ties declined, so did the trading networks that had been sustained by them.

In decline also, the Sephardim were not unique but rather shared the fate of other diasporic minorities. The early eighteenth century was the key period in the consolidation and westernization of world trade, heralding, in Philip Curtin's words, "the twilight of the trade diasporas." Mid-eighteenth-century diasporic Armenians, Curtin notes, typically responded to their economic decline by assimilating into the dominant cultures of their places of residence.[45] The Sephardim of the early modern Atlantic, then, were not harbingers of modernity but, on the contrary, creatures of another age, sustained by informal ethnically based trading networks that were largely brought to an end by the advent of modernity. The context of Atlantic history should not focus attention only on the nature and importance of these networks: to do so would risk replacing the apologetic undertow of the old nation-based Jewish history with a new boosterism, this time emphasizing the prominence of Jews in forging the intercontinental connections of the world economy. The Sephardic diaspora was indubitably of great importance in the early modern world—but to understand its workings we must also understand its highly particular cultural shape and its historical specificity.

A focus on the Sephardic Jews of the early modern Atlantic in many ways reveals how similar they were, in their economic behavior and cultural development, to other diasporic groups. This comparative potential is one of the great strengths of Atlantic history, and one that poses a salutary challenge to the often insular field of Jewish history. There are dangers, however, to relentless comparison. Although in many respects there is nothing inherently unique about the Jewish diaspora, there are also features that do mark the Jews apart: "Jewish diaspora is and is not privileged," as the Boyarin brothers have emphasized.[46] As cross-cultural commercial brokers, the early modern Sephardim resembled several other groups, but a good deal more so—and in order to understand why this was the case it is necessary to focus on what marked them as a unique minority. No other group was so profoundly culturally intermediary as the Sephardim, because no other group had such a complex and fluid identity. Deeply Iberian and yet shunned on the Iberian peninsula, welcomed and yet held at some distance in northern Europe, and with a disrupted and sometimes eccentric relationship to normative Judaism, the Sephardic diaspora absorbed a uniquely eclectic range of cultural and intellectual currents. This cultural complexity, which both sustained the commercial reach of the diaspora and was itself sustained by the contacts of commerce, was uniquely subversive of stable definitions of religious or national identity. The Sephardim of the early modern Atlantic should not, then, be regarded as pioneering yet essentially familiar "founding fathers," but rather as fascinatingly alien inhabitants of a world—and a culture—very different from our own.

PART II

Mercantilism

CHAPTER THREE

Networks of Colonial Entrepreneurs

The Founders of the Jewish Settlements in Dutch America, 1650s and 1660s

WIM KLOOSTER

LAURENS PIETER VAN DE SPIEGEL (1736–1800), son of a navigator in the employ of the Dutch East India Company, worked himself up to become a powerful politician. As the Pensionary of Holland—the last man to occupy that post—Van de Spiegel was responsible for the abolition of the West India Company. In the notebooks he left, van de Spiegel gave his thoughts to a wide range of topics. In an undated entry, he wrote: "I am surprised that the Jews never hit upon the idea, especially in the 16th and 17th centuries when the spirit of discoveries was still so vivid, to look for an island in America or elsewhere to establish themselves under their own government, religion, and laws. There, they could have gathered their co-religionists from the diaspora, and their riches and enterprising nature could have enabled them to create a substantial commercial state in whose preservation all trading nations would have been interested. Perhaps one should find the explanation why this did not happen in a higher government that guards the Jews from other views."[1]

Whether he realized it or not, Van de Spiegel echoed a sentiment expressed by his countryman, the philosopher Cornelius de Pauw (1739–1799). In his internationally famous work *Recherches Philosophiques sur les amériquains,* best known for the hyperbolic portrayal of the New World as a continent far inferior to Europe, de Pauw argued that in the seventeenth century, the Jews of Dutch Brazil had been well-placed to form an independent "state" in the immense wilderness of the Americas, after the example of the Jesuits and similar to that of the Pennsylvanians. They could have worshipped their God, de Pauw added, without groveling in humiliation and servitude, but they had lacked the courage and the right spirit.[2] In actual fact, Jews did found communities in the New World in the seventeenth century, albeit none that was entirely under Jewish rule—the autonomous community of Jodensavanne in Suriname came closest to that ideal. Five Sephardic entrepreneurs behind the Jewish settlements that emerged under Dutch auspices in the middle decades of the seventeenth century are the subject of this essay: João de Yllán (1609–96), David Cohen Nassi (1612–85), Abraham Drago (1628–97), Antonio Luis (b. 1624), and Abraham Cohen (d. 1671). These men were indispensable for the establishment of a Jewish presence in the Caribbean and circum-Caribbean, as they tried to find colonial outlets for the growing number of impoverished Jews in the northern Netherlands, where large numbers of persecuted Jews were arriving from eastern Europe around the same time that Jews returned from the lost colony of Dutch Brazil. Before showing who these men were and what they accomplished, I will sketch the environment in which they appeared.

The Jewish communities that arose in the Caribbean and Guiana in the 1650s and 1660s were all established in the shadow of Dutch Brazil. From 1636 to 1654, northeastern Brazil had been the first place in the western hemisphere where openly Jewish services were held. How many Jews migrated from Amsterdam to Brazil, and where they set up thriving congregations, is not exactly known. Historian Isaac Emmanuel wrote that there were at the most 1,000 Jews in all of Dutch Brazil in 1645, and Gonsalves de Mello estimated that there were still 350 Jews in Recife in 1649. Both figures are significant, given the overall civilian population of Recife (1,700) and Dutch Brazil (3,400) in 1645–46.[3] As much as they had benefited from tolerance in the Dutch Republic, Jews were arguably better off in Brazil. Not only did the government of Governor Johan Maurits guarantee freedom of conscience for Jews and allow them to open the first synagogue in the history of the New World, but in contrast with Amsterdam, the Jews of Dutch Brazil were formally granted residential rights as well as the right to engage in retail trade.[4]

Among the men and women that settled in this haven were many who had fled directly or indirectly from the Iberian peninsula to Amsterdam before moving to Brazil. The Navarro family may serve as an example. Rodrigo Fernandes and his wife, Violante Nunes, alias Sara Navarro, Portuguese New Christians, had at least eight children, four sons and four daughters. Their quiet lives in Porto were suddenly interrupted in 1618, when the Inquisition arrested 100 persons, sending some to the galleys, imprisoning others, and even burning a few men.[5] Making a hasty escape, the family departed for Amsterdam, where Violante died within three years. Rodrigo, an active trader in wool and tobacco, must have formally converted to Judaism, because he was named *parnas* (warden) of the Beth Jacob community in 1628.[6] In the year of his death, 1645, his eldest son, Isaac Navarro aka Jeronimo Nunes Navarro, was listed in Amsterdam as a merchant trading with Brazil. Ten years earlier, he may have moved to Dutch Brazil as a goldsmith, and he may have returned there at a later time, remaining in Recife until the end.[7]

Isaac's brothers Jacob (1614–90), Arão (1615–85), and Moisés Navarro (b. 1617) also migrated to Brazil.[8] They joined the Jewish congregation of Paraíba, formed economic partnerships with one another, and did very well for themselves. By 1654, their possessions included two small plantations and a large sugar mill, valued at 122,000 guilders, and two houses in Recife and one in the adjacent town of Mauritia (Maurîtsstad).[9] Moisés had been the first to arrive in Brazil. At the age of only thirteen, he signed up as a naval cadet for the expedition that conquered Pernambuco in 1630. Seven years later, he had left the service of the West India Company and become Brazil's most prominent tax farmer. The capital he amassed in his trading ventures enabled him to secure this position and buy one sugar plantation for 45,000 guilders and another one (with an unidentified partner) for 30,000 guilders. Moisés was also a leading figure in the Jewish community, as suggested by the fact that he was the Brazilian representative of the Dotar from 1639 to 1641.[10] Arão had joined Moisés in Brazil in 1635. Ten years later, he contracted the colony's tithes, a 10 percent tax on the value of sugar paid by producers.[11] Jacob Navarro was the last of the brothers to settle in Brazil, perhaps around 1645. His rapid rise to leadership in the Jewish community culminated in his appointment as one of the directors of the Zur Israel congregation.[12]

Not all Jewish immigrants were men of substance. In May 1638, two ships arrived from Holland with Jewish settlers who were not received with open arms. Governor Johan Maurits and his council complained to the Estates General about their poverty, which could endanger the local economy. The settlers were brought by Manuel Mendes de Crasto, alias Manuel Nehemias, who had petitioned the West India Company eighteen months earlier to found a colony in Brazil. In 1628, the Company had adopted a policy that encouraged private colonizing initiatives. So-called patroonships were assigned to applicants, "patroons," who were granted land in fief, on condition that they attract fifty or sixty colonists within three years' time. The regulations drawn up for Dutch Brazil in 1634 allowed both Dutchmen and foreigners to form a "society" in the new colony, electing a leader and other magistrates as well as a preacher. Since he planned to bring as many as two hundred predominantly Jewish settlers, de Crasto was given permission. His plan to start a colony inside Dutch Brazil fizzled, however, as he died soon after embarkation.[13]

The flow of Jewish immigrants slowed down and was reversed after a local rebellion broke out against Dutch rule in 1645. The rebellion was never suppressed, and it contributed to the eventual defeat of the Dutch nine years later. A Frenchman who worked as a civil servant in Recife later asserted that the Jews were reminded of what had occurred prior to the fall of Constantinople, when the citizens refused to pay the defending soldiers, thus hastening the Ottoman conquest. The news of the rebellion in Pernambuco, therefore, led the Jews of Recife to collect an impressive sum of money to be distributed to the Dutch soldiers.[14] Even if this account is true, which is dubious, such a display of Jewish generosity could not prevent the sad fate that awaited some Jews at the hands of Portuguese settlers. Three Jews were killed in Ipojuca right after the start of the revolt in June, and four others were executed in late August. Several more were sent to Lisbon, where the Inquisition tried them. But those, like Samuel Israel, the rabbi of Penedo, who could prove that they had been born Jews, were eventually released.[15]

The revolt triggered a return migration to Amsterdam. In all, some two hundred Jewish families arrived in Amsterdam from Brazil in the period 1646–55. Most of them did not return until the Dutch surrender of 1654.[16] Their homecoming was not a happy event. Several families were so impoverished that frequent collections were made in Amsterdam's Sephardic synagogue to alleviate their plight.[17] Many moved on, although an appreciable number of the returnees would remain in Amsterdam, as reflected in the marriage data for the next decades. The 1670s saw a flurry of weddings in Amsterdam involving Jews born in Dutch Brazil.[18] Members of the same family sometimes scattered. Moisés Navarro returned to Amsterdam in 1648, three years after the start of the rebellion in Brazil, married and fathered three children, but he could not continue his string of business successes. He traveled to Brazil one last time, returned and attempted ventures in France and Saleh, Morocco, but without much avail.[19] Jacob Navarro stayed in Brazil until the very end and then came back to the Netherlands. He married within a year and was listed in 1658 as one of two recipients of a cargo of wax sent by his brother Moisés from Saleh. Jacob would live out his days in Amsterdam.[20] The other two brothers crossed the ocean again, Isaac Navarro moving to Curaçao in 1659–60,[21] while Arão first sailed to Amsterdam after the Dutch defeat but later settled in Suriname before migrating to Barbados. He was naturalized there in 1679 and died in 1685.[22]

Historians have pointed out that the exodus from Brazil to Amsterdam was not the only event in the Jewish world that was felt in the Dutch entrepôt, which was flooded with Jewish arrivals in the late 1640s and early 1650s. While the downfall of the Count-Duke of Olivares, Spain's powerful minister and protector of the Jews, had caused the flight of numerous Iberian New Christians, the Chmielnicki massacres of 1648–52 triggered a westward movement among Polish and Ukrainian Jews. On top of that came the return migration from Dutch Brazil, which made the need to create new Jewish communities all the more urgent, since the Jewish populations of Amsterdam and probably some other towns had reached a critical mass.[23] As alternative communities were indeed organized in England and its American colonies, a new commercial circuit came to connect many Jews, as becomes clear when we study their individual lives. The "diaspora" of Dutch Brazil saw Benyamin Bueno de Mesquita leave for Livorno, but before 1660 he was back on the other side of the ocean in Jamaica. Along with all other Jews, he was expelled in 1665. He later came to New York, where he died in 1683.[24] Aron Abravanel Dormido and Solomon Dormido moved to London around 1647, and Benjamin Levy in 1653 or 1654, before the de facto end of the ban on Jewish immigration in England. Menasseh ben Israel, who famously led the way in this readmission, appointed his brother-in-law, David Abravanel Dormido (father of Aron), himself a former "Brazilian," to arrange the official re-entry of Jews to England.[25] Joseph Frances (1614–92) was first listed in Recife in 1638, remaining there until the very end of Dutch rule. In the final years of the colony, Frances may have been the wealthiest Jew in Recife. After his return to Amsterdam, he frequently traveled to the New World, briefly residing in New Amsterdam in 1660. By 1677, he had moved his family to London, where he served its Jewish congregation in various capacities.[26]

The English colony of Barbados, the Caribbean island closest to Brazil, received more than a few veterans of the defeated Dutch colony. When an Irish privateer in Spanish service seized a Dutch ship en route to Barbados in 1657 and brought it to the Spanish port of San Sebastián, twenty-seven Jews were found among the passengers. Seventeen years later, Governor Jonathan Atkins related that there were at most thirty Jewish families "of Dutch extraction from Brazil" on his island. And by 1689, fifty-four Sephardic families lived on Jew Street in Bridgetown.[27] Among the former residents of Brazil to settle in Barbados were various noteworthy men, such as Abraham de Mercado, the New World's first Jewish physician and pharmacist. Moseh Hamis Gago had arrived directly from Recife, but for the others the expulsion from Brazil had been the beginning of a peripatetic existence. Luis Dias, alias Joseph Jesurun Mendes (1616–99), first moved to Amsterdam and then left for English Suriname. Pereira de Leon arrived in Barbados from Guadeloupe, and David Israel was probably one of the twenty-three Jews who landed in New Amsterdam. Jacob Cohen Henriques certainly settled in Manhattan at a later stage. Arão Burgos was born in Recife, traveled from Barbados to Newport, Rhode Island, in 1679, and is said to have died in New York City in 1732 at the age of 101 years. Aaron da Silva lived in Barbados before settling in Suriname, and Abraham Bueno de Mesquita dwelled in Barbados and Nevis.[28] Amsterdam's Jews remained in touch with many of the overseas coreligionists living in Barbados, as both sides tried to bypass the English Navigation Acts. Nor were the contacts purely economic, as shown by the fact that it was from Amsterdam that Barbados's first rabbi arrived in 1687.[29]

Brazil remained off-limits for both Dutch Jews and gentiles, despite the widespread nostalgia for *Versuymd Brasil* (Lost Brazil), which was expressed in a number of proposals to recapture the abandoned areas. In August 1655, a group of Dutch soldiers presented a plan to the Estates General to conquer a Brazilian port, and it was perhaps the same men who insisted that Indians and free blacks were waiting to be saved by the Dutch from the Portuguese yoke.[30] In 1661, seven years after the Dutch defeat, the province of Zeeland still advocated reconquest, although the other provinces were by then seeking financial compensation from Portugal to settle Dutch claims.[31] Under the circumstances, it is not surprising that in Brazil itself the fear of a Dutch return did not quickly disappear. As late as 1667, one year before the Dutch buried the hatchet with Portugal, Brazil's governor-general notified the governors of the northern *capitanias* that he had received word from the Portuguese king that an invasion of Brazil by a Dutch fleet was imminent.[32] The warning was not as far-fetched as it may seem. After all, in precisely that year the fleet fitted out by the province of Zeeland and commanded by Abraham Crijnssen captured the English colony of Suriname. Suriname would eventually become the new Brazil the Dutch were looking for. A committee of members of Amsterdam's municipal council gathered in 1681 to discuss the trade with Suriname issued the statement that the colony could indeed develop into a "second Brazil." The epithet would reverberate in subsequent decades.[33]

Still, Suriname did not represent the first Dutch attempt to provide an outlet for the stream of return migrants from Brazil who overcrowded some Dutch towns and who had often developed a genuine preference for life in the tropics.[34] The first outlet was Nieuwer-Amstel (present-day New Castle, Delaware), which was captured in 1655 from Sweden by an expedition led by New Netherland's director Peter Stuyvesant. Since the West India Company was unable to bear the costs of colonization, the colony was transferred to the city of Amsterdam and put into use in April 1657. Eighteen months later, the city colony already numbered six hundred men.[35]

No Jews are known to have settled in Nieuwer-Amstel, but Guiana, north of Brazil, received scores of Sephardim. Dutch authorities had long viewed this so-called Wild Coast as a no man's land, an area certainly not effectively controlled by Spain. They had allowed or encouraged colonies to be founded there since the turn of the seventeenth century. No period, however, had seen more colonizing activity in Guiana than the mid-1650s, when the Dutch West India Company (WIC) transferred the job of settling and ruling the small Guiana colonies on the Essequibo and Pomeroon Rivers to three towns in Zeeland: Middelburg, Veere, and Vlissingen (Flushing). In addition, Amsterdam merchant Jan Claessen Langendijck started bringing settlers in 1656 to his colony at Cayenne, east of the Suriname River. Apart from these settlements, it is likely that dozens of returnees from Brazil were recruited in 1654 for a patroonship set up on the island of Tobago, just off South America, by the brothers Adriaen and Cornelis Lampsins, from Vlissingen. This colony had been planned for several years but could not be set up until the first Anglo-Dutch War (1652–54) had ended. The settlers arrived four months after the duke of the small Baltic country of Courland had established his own colony on Tobago, making it necessary to divide the island between the two parties.[36] The impact of Dutch Brazil must have been felt in all these new colonies, if only because the first director of Nieuwer-Amstel, the second commander of Cayenne, and one of the first governors of Suriname had all been administrators in Brazil.[37]

It was former residents of Dutch Brazil who took the initiative to set up new Jewish communities in Guiana, that vast area between Venezuela and Brazil. Five of these men, all Portuguese Jews, are the protagonists of this essay. The oldest of them was João de Yllán, aka João Ilhão or Jean d'Illan. Beyond his birth in 1609 in the Portuguese town of Portalegre, nothing is known about the first twenty-five years of his life. He must have moved to Paraíba, Brazil, before the Dutch captured that town in December 1634, and he was found in Itamaracá in Dutch Brazil in 1639. The following year, Yllán and Manuel Nunes de Lion signed a contract with the West India Company in Amsterdam to explore precious metals and minerals in the areas under Dutch rule in Brazil. Yllán does not seem to have lived up to the contract.[38]

A notarial document from 1641 indicates that Yllán had been involved in Portuguese colonial trade prior to his arrival in Dutch Brazil. In the document, Yllán ordered all his "goods and effects" in Lisbon, Rio de Janeiro, and Angola to be collected.[39] During his brief presence in Dutch Brazil (1639–40), he traded in conjunction with the aforementioned Joseph Frances and was active in the provisioning business, supplying both residents and soldiers.[40] Having established himself as a merchant in Amsterdam, Yllán became an active member of the Jewish community. His prosperous business allowed him to build what has been described as "a beautiful, luxurious mansion."[41] In 1641, he married Rachel Bueno, a fellow native of Portalegre. They may have known each other from their childhood days. Rachel, who bore him one child, passed away in 1655.[42] Her father was Dr. Jacob Bueno, the scion of a famous family of physicians that included Ephraim Bueno, who was famously portrayed by Rembrandt. Also related to this family was João da Rocha Pinto, alias Joseph Zecharia Cohen da Rocha (ca. 1595–1648),[43] who left his native Oporto for Madrid and moved on to Antwerp after a few years, where he became a well-to-do community member. In 1637 and 1641, he was also consul of the Portuguese Nation. He had a business relationship with the local New Christian Thomas de Sampayo, the factor and later general contractor for the Spanish army. By the early 1640s, João da Rocha Pinto had settled in Hamburg, where, in 1646, he owned two houses. João de Yllán was one of his trading partners and is mentioned in his will, made shortly before his death in 1648, as one of three heirs.[44]

Another business partner of João de Yllán was even more prominent in Antwerp than da Rocha Pinto had been during his years in that port: João's own cousin, the staunch Catholic García de Yllán Barraza (1591–1655).[45] Lisbon-born García de Yllán not only traded with his brothers in Cartagena de Indias and Lima and with Jewish or crypto-Jewish correspondents in Valencia, Amsterdam, Antwerp, London, and Hamburg but also worked his way up to become one of the premier Portuguese financiers at the court of Spain's King Philip IV.[46] There is evidence that João de Yllán himself aspired to lucrative posts in the Spanish service. Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, governor-general of the Spanish Netherlands, mentioned João in a letter to King Philip IV in 1648 as a candidate for the position of general factor of royal finance and Spanish trade in Holland, Hamburg, and other North Sea ports. Eight years later, Yllán—perhaps trying to cash in on the good reputation of his recently deceased cousin—proposed an *asiento* contract to Philip IV that would bind him and a partner in Madrid to supply ships and soldiers to Spain.[47]

Between these two failed proposals, Yllán spent his time in Curaçao, a Dutch possession since 1634. In 1651, Yllán settled on the island as a patroon and as the founder of the first Jewish congregation in the Caribbean. His motivation to move back to the New World may be gleaned from the congregation's name: Mikveh Israel, or the Hope of Israel. As the foremost Jewish settler, Yllán was probably responsible for the name, which was given just one year after Amsterdam rabbi Menasseh ben Israel had published his famous book that bore the same title. Menasseh was looking for places where the persecuted Jews from Iberia and Poland could settle, and he started planning new Jewish settlements in England

and the Americas. Such migration, he hoped, would accelerate the dispersal of the Jews all over the globe, which, according to Jewish tradition, was a precondition of the coming of the Messiah.

Yllán's messianic beliefs became obvious in 1666, when he was residing again in Amsterdam. In January of that year, he must have convinced himself that rabbi and Kabbalist Sabbatai Zvi was indeed the Messiah, as the man from Smyrna professed. Perhaps in the belief that redemption would take place on the following June 18, Yllán sent a request to the English king for a pass for a Dutch ship, a step he considered necessary given the current Anglo-Dutch war. He made his intentions clear in a few lines: "Since I behold that God in his mercy has begun to gather in his scattered people and has raised up a prophet for us, therefore I and several of my Jewish brethren, together with fifty poor families desire to hire a ship to bring us to Jerusalem. And in order that this may be accomplished without being captured or molested on the high sea, we humbly petition Your Majesty to grant us a pass for one Dutch ship which is to sail from here . . . without let, search, or molestation by vessels of His Majesty's fleet, and after arriving in Jerusalem we shall pray for His Majesty's success."[48]

Fifteen years before, Yllán had had other worries. Although he had promised the West India Company that he and his settlers would devote themselves to agriculture, he could not keep his word. Not only was he a merchant by trade and not a farmer, Curaçao's arid soil and lack of rainfall made agriculture challenging at best. Soon, Yllán was conducting intra-Caribbean trade in Curaçaoan dyewood and horses from the nearby islands of Aruba and Bonaire, much to the chagrin of the Dutch director.[49] By 1655, he was back in the Netherlands, relinquishing his brazilwood, tobacco, goats, and all his other possessions on Curaçao to his brother-in-law and former business partner in Brazil, Joseph Frances. His years on the island had bankrupted Yllán, who would spend the rest of his long life in Amsterdam. He would fail to repeat his earlier business success, although he remained busy. He was instrumental, for example, in consolidating Dutch trade with the Spanish Main, collaborating with a resident of Caracas in a commercial venture that linked Amsterdam with the Canary Islands and Venezuela.[50] Soon, he presented yet another plan, now to the French crown. The project outlined the benefits of the conquest of the Orinoco region in South America, but it did not refer to

Jewish settlement there.[51] A Court Jew by aspiration and a Port Jew by fate, Yllán had thus approached four European governments for a number of astonishing plans in the course of twenty years.

The plan he submitted to the French crown revealed Yllán's conviction that American colonies could not function without slaves, a lesson he may have learned the hard way in Curaçao. After his Curaçaoan adventure, he became involved in the Dutch slave trade, which was redirected to the Caribbean after the loss of Pernambuco.[52] It is also possible that his experience in the Atlantic slave trade dated back to an earlier period. Not only did João de Yllán have contacts in Luanda (Angola) prior to 1641, relatives of his were likely involved in the slave business. His cousin Gonzalo Barraza Falcón, brother of García de Yllán, ran a firm in Cartagena de Indias, the chief destination for enslaved Africans in Spanish America, and in the 1630s one Diego Barrasa, a native of Lisbon and resident of Luanda, was active in the slave trade from Angola to Cartagena.[53]

The timing of Yllán's proposal to the French was no coincidence. A few months before he sent it off, in February 1664, a French force had captured Cayenne, where another Jewish congregation had sprung up under Dutch rule. Yllán may have concluded that the international ascendancy of the United Provinces was waning, whereas that of France was evidently on the rise. The Jewish community at Cayenne had been organized by Joseph Nunes da Fonseca, alias David Cohen Nassi. As in Yllán's case, little is known about Nassi's early life. It is not even clear where he was born in 1612, although it was probably in Portugal, but by 1634 he had moved to Amsterdam, where his daughter Sara was born that year. A decade later, Nassi lived briefly in Dutch Brazil.[54] Yllán and Nassi seem to have known each other. In March 1650, Yllán dispatched a cargo from Amsterdam to Brussels that was addressed to Doctor Francisco de Sousa or, alternatively, Joseph Nunes da Fonseca, who was apparently temporarily residing there.[55] Whether the two discussed establishing a Jewish colony on Curaçao is not known, but only one year after Yllán and his fellow settlers had embarked for Curaçao, Nassi signed a contract with the West India Company that would have made him the second Jewish patroon on the island.[56] He never sailed, however, perhaps due to the outbreak of the first Anglo-Dutch War. This failure did not discourage

Nassi, who eyed commercial possibilities on the South American mainland, although the West India Company had long since concluded that Guiana was commercially uninteresting. The natives, the Company argued, needed so little in the way of clothing or other items that two or three trading vessels sufficed to conduct an annual trade.[57]

Not all merchants abandoned the Wild Coast, however, since they valued commodities such as snakewood, used for cabinetmaking and marquetry.[58] One trader from Zeeland sang the praises of redwood, a tree bark widely found on the Suriname and Orinoco Rivers that yielded a crimson dye supposedly every bit as good as cochineal.[59] For his part, David Nassi apparently had high expectations for another local product. Willem Piso, head of medical services in Dutch Brazil, Johan Maurits's personal physician until 1644 and later dean of Amsterdam's Medical College, related in a 1658 treatise that "the very learned" Amsterdam Jew David Nassi possessed supplies of the bark *Cassia caryophyllata,* which grew in Guiana and Maranhão.[60] If Nassi expected this bark to have the same culinary and medicinal properties as the clove *Eugenia caryophyllata,* which grew on the Spice Islands in eastern Asia—and which the Dutch monopolized—his hope was in vain.[61] Piso, incidentally, also recorded the use among Dutch Jews of a resin obtained from the copaiba tree, native to Guiana and northern Brazil, which was effective in stopping the bleeding during circumcisions, but it is not known whether Nassi was involved in its promotion.

In 1657, Nassi signed a contract with the Estates of Zeeland, which allowed him and other Brazilian veterans "of the Hebrew nation" to carve out an agricultural colony in western Guiana, where the Zeeland towns of Middelburg, Vlissingen, and Vere jointly ruled a new colony called "Nova Zeelandia." The contract stipulated that all Jews were to be accepted as burghers and were allowed to have a synagogue. Like other settlers, they were exempt from paying tithes or a head tax. Shortly afterward, Nassi signed an agreement to bring several hundred enslaved Africans to the Essequibo River in Nova Zeelandia, which demonstrates that the colony would revolve around cash-crop production. The settlement was a short distance from the Pomeroon River, where Zeeland colonists had first arrived in the 1640s. Jews from Brazil may have settled there before 1654.[62] How this new colony of Nova Zeelandia, which comprised the Pomeroon settlement as well, attracted Jews with various backgrounds was captured by one Gaspar Perera, who was interrogated by the Inquisition of the Canary Islands in 1663. Five years earlier, he recalled, he had stayed in his brother-in-law's house in Middelburg, when one day he "found three other persons there besides the people of the house, of whom one, as he remembers, was called Gabriel de Paz, native of Seville, and another was called, he was told, Jorge Nunez Nieto, native of Viana in Portugal, and the other he then heard had been a Dominican friar, who came from the Indies to the city of Amsterdam, and whose name he does not know. The which [*sic*] persons were going with many others to a new possession which the Dutch have acquired in Brazil [N.B. western Guiana], and they all supped together that night and left without discussing the law of Moses."[63] In addition to this Dominican priest, an Augustinian friar from Madrid, who had come to Amsterdam and was circumcised there, settled in Dutch Guiana. The Spanish authorities caught up with him near Pomeroon, arresting him and sending him to the Inquisition tribunal of Cartagena de Indias.[64]

A significant number of the immigrants did not arrive from the United Provinces but from Livorno. It seems plausible that these Jews were not natives of the Italian port city, but former refugees from Dutch Brazil. On May 25, 1654, it was recorded in Livorno that a ship had arrived that day with Jewish passengers who came to settle in that town.[65] Although the date suggests Brazil as the place of embarkation, historians have failed to make this connection, but it makes perfect sense. Refugees from the Iberian peninsula would not have been listed as Jewish passengers, nor is another place of departure likely. One may then assume that many of these immigrants never settled down in their adopted town and were eager to return to the New World.[66]

It was in 1659 that Nassi agreed to found another settlement, now on the island of Cayenne. The opportunity arose when Langendijck, the merchant who had pioneered a colony there and who was still its commander, decided to transfer ownership to the West India Company. Nassi and his settlers were to have jurisdiction over an area four to five miles wide in Cayenne, an area at a distance from the existing colony under Dutch rule. This separation, it was argued, would prevent problems. Nassi and his colonists were granted the same privileges that Jews enjoyed in Amsterdam.[67] There was a wide gap between these privileges and the harsh reality, as the settlers soon found out. Disregarding the West India Company documents the immigrants produced, commander Langendijck refused to distribute land to the settlers, although the island of Cayenne contained miles of uncultivated land and only some three dozen inhabitants. The commander advised the immigrants to try their luck on the adjacent mainland, but mud, puddles, and the threat of native attacks made the mainland patently unfit for establishing a settlement. Langendijck apparently gave in after Jewish protests in Amsterdam, and plots of land on the western side of the island, separated from Langendijck's small settlement, seem to have been put up for sale. Nassi had by then probably returned to Amsterdam. The purchase that he made in June 1660, together with a merchant named Antonio Luis, of one-sixth of the island of Cayenne from another Jew would not make sense if Nassi were still the colony's patroon.[68] From time to time, Nassi dispatched settlers, including several from Livorno, but the colony was not to last. Following the French conquest of 1664, David Nassi, his son Samuel, and other Jews moved to Essequibo, only to be removed again after the outbreak of the second Anglo-Dutch War. The Jews living on this river, as well as their coreligionists who had settled in 1658 on the nearby Pomeroon River, were expelled in 1666, when English troops invaded western Guiana and destroyed the colonies. The Jewish settlers eventually found their way to the English settlement of Suriname, and they officially became subjects of the Dutch Estates of Zeeland following the conquest in 1667.[69]

How David Nassi benefited financially from these projects is not easy to establish, although a notarial document dated May 1663 provides a hint. That month, Nassi fitted out a ninety-ton ship that would sail from Amsterdam to Cayenne for a manatee-hunting expedition, stop in Suriname or the Caribbean islands, and then continue on to Cayenne or Bonaire, before finally returning to Amsterdam. The itinerary suggests that Nassi combined the provisioning of Cayenne with commercial ventures for his own benefit.[70] Nassi did everything possible to make the colonies work, shuttling back and forth across the Atlantic and involving members of his own family in his colonial projects. In 1659, he manumitted a female black slave in Amsterdam, so that she could accompany his daughter Sara to Cayenne. Sara did indeed leave for Cayenne and perhaps resided in Suriname, where the presence of her husband, Isaac Drago, was documented in 1669.[71] Her brother Samuel set himself up as the foremost community leader in Suriname. He took the reins from his father, whose importance for Jewish Suriname is hard to exaggerate. By the time David Nassi passed away in Amsterdam in 1685, his legacy was established in that colony. He had orchestrated the migration of many Jews who now called Suriname home.

Like his father, Samuel saw to every detail in his efforts to provide the colony with an infrastructure, hiring, for example, two mill makers, a carpenter, and a shipbuilder in the Netherlands in the summer of 1671.[72] How important these craftsmen were for a sugar-producing colony had been stressed by the Jewish planter Filipe de Fuentes a decade before, when he described conditions in Pomeroon: "The crops are getting on very well, but the smith here is a drunkard, so that it is very necessary that a good smith and carpenter be sent hither in order to repair the aforesaid mills and to make others, for without them no sugar can be made."[73] The contracts with the Dutch artisans were signed with the help of Samuel's procurator in Amsterdam, Abraham Drago. The Nassis and the Dragos were allied by marriage, and perhaps had been for generations. David's wife was Maria or Rebecca Drago, while his daughter Sara, as we have seen, married Isaac Drago.[74] Abraham Drago may have been Isaac's cousin. Born in Lisbon in 1628, he moved (probably from Amsterdam) to Recife around 1648, went back to Amsterdam, and was among the first Jewish settlers of Curaçao in 1651. He lived in Amsterdam in 1655, returned there from abroad in 1661, and was again listed as a resident in 1675. He would die in that city in 1697.[75] From Amsterdam, Drago encouraged migration to Curaçao. He may have induced fellow Jewish refugees from Dutch Brazil, including Isaac Serrano, to move there.[76] As late as 1680 he brought seven families to Willemstad.[77] At the same time, he was active in European trade with the island.[78]

Abraham had undoubtedly been one of the key figures in Yllán's 1651 settlement plan. Like Yllán and Samuel Nassi, Drago predominantly recruited gentiles as settlers. They included Ferdinandus de Bruyn and Angolan-born João Pinto, who was to work for fourteen years as Drago's domestic servant.[79] This pattern repeated itself when Drago came to own land in Cayenne in 1660. He contracted a number of men to sail from Amsterdam to this colony, where he would provide them with tools and slaves and thus enable them to cultivate his land for a period of six years. Once again, Drago hired gentiles for the job.[80] One may wonder whether employing gentiles or exploiting slaves was at odds with the messianic ideals of men like Drago, but it would be too simplistic to conclude that they were typical entrepreneurs who happened to have been Jewish. In such a view, there is nothing remarkable about the colonies they initiated. In reality, pragmatism was always mixed with hope, with the idealism that induced Yllán to plan a voyage to Jerusalem. Messianism seems to have underlaid the town plan of Jodensavanne (Suriname), whose geometric layout conjured up the ideal of an age of peace, as did the name of the synagogue, Beraḥa VeSalom (Blessing and Peace), built in 1685. It has been suggested that settlers may have believed that elements of redemption had taken shape in the village, even if the true ingathering of exiles from all over the world would take place in Jerusalem.[81]

Yllán, Nassi, and Drago were by no means the sole colonial promoters among the Jews of the Dutch Republic. The aforementioned Filipe de Fuentes, who had previously lived in Dutch Brazil, organized Jewish migration to Pomeroon, where he was known as the leader of the Jewish community.[82] Others included Abraham Cohen and Antonio Luis. Abraham Cohen had been a successful trader in Brazil, claiming losses to the amount of 145,592 guilders after the Dutch defeat. Cohen "do Brasil," as he was thereafter known, did not return to the Americas but instead facilitated Jewish migration to the new colonies in Guiana and Curaçao and invested in tropical agriculture. He possessed slave-run plantations in Essequibo,[83] as well as land on the island of "Ayami" (presumably Cayenne), one-sixth of which he sold to Antonio Luis in 1660.[84] Antonio Luis was the only colonial entrepreneur who never lived in Brazil. What is more, he never set foot in the New World. He was born in Paris in 1624 to the confectioner Martin Gomes and his wife, Maria Luis, who soon took up residence in Bayonne. Antonio became a merchant in Amsterdam, where he married into the Cardozo family in 1648.[85] In 1660, when Luis collaborated with Nassi on setting up the colony in Cayenne, he also presented a plan to settle the Sinamari River in Guiana to the WIC, but nothing ever came of his project.[86] Around the same time, he teamed up with Abraham Cohen to transport commodities and passengers (Jews and gentiles) to Cayenne and Curaçao. Luis's involvement in Curaçaoan affairs went back to the days of João de Yllán's patroonship—in which he had invested together with three other Amsterdam merchants—which brings us full circle.[87]

The colonial entrepreneurs who tried to establish colonies in the Americas after the fall of Recife in 1654 were all merchants and—with one exception—veterans of Dutch Brazil. While probably none of them was born in the Dutch Republic, they were instrumental in Dutch expansion to the Caribbean and Guiana. For their part, Dutch authorities, eager to end the sudden overcrowding of several towns in the mother country, supported Jewish (and non-Jewish) efforts to carve out settlements on the other side of the Atlantic. Connected to one another by marriage or trade, the colonial entrepreneurs mixed commercial objectives with idealism, and perhaps messianism, in their organization of the colonies. Nor would they have seen the irony of hiring gentile Europeans and buying African slaves in order to make tropical Jewish settlements possible. Like other settlers of the Americas who arrived with spiritual aspirations, the economic orientation may have been more important for the Jewish entrepreneurs. To varying degrees, their activities resembled those of the *newlanders*, the intermediaries who would play a key part in the migration of Germans to North America in the eighteenth century.[88] Both Nassi and Drago bore great likeness to their profile, frequently traveling to the New World and returning to Europe to report about the colonies, transact business, and recruit additional colonists. Although many efforts of the entrepreneurs met with failure, the eventual emergence of two flourishing Jewish communities in Suriname and Curaçao, buttresses of both Dutch colonies, would have been impossible without them.

CHAPTER FOUR

English Markets, Jewish Merchants, and Atlantic Endeavors

Jews and the Making of British Transatlantic Commercial Culture, 1650–1800

HOLLY SNYDER

On March 13, 1656, a lowly but self-important scrivener and public notary by the name of Francis Knevett sent for John Baptiste Dunnington, bookkeeper and clerk to the Canaries merchant Antonio Rodrigues Robles, and prevailed upon young Dunnington to swear out a deposition concerning recently imported Spanish goods and monies in his master's possession. On the basis of this denunciation, an order was issued for the seizure of two ships belonging to Robles, along with letters, papers, and the sum of 40,000 Spanish ducats to be found in Robles's home. Knevett thus set in motion the wheels of a prosecution, under the aegis of a general order of the Lord Protector, that allowed for the seizure of Spanish goods now that England and Spain were at war.

Having been caught red-handed with both Spanish goods and Spanish specie, Robles was hard-pressed to prove that he was neither a Spaniard nor an agent of the Spanish crown. This was to prove a most problematic task, for Robles had given evidence, in Spanish, in a case on the Spanish wool trade just three years before. Thus, he was already recorded in the London Port Books as having been a resident of Madrid at the time of that trial. It was now alleged that he had approached a number of persons to prevaricate on his behalf in the instant prosecution. He first tried to inveigle a servant to say, if questioned on the matter, that he was Portuguese. This attempt was said to have failed, however, when "the boy replied he could not lye for he [Robles] was a Spaniard." To the protest from Robles that he was "married to a woman of Portugall," the boy replied, "that makes no Portugall." Robles then attempted to put forward his claim to Portuguese nationality through Dunnington; but Dunnington told the authorities that he had no personal knowledge of his master's nationality, only that he had heard "he is lately turned a Jew having form'ly professed himself a Catholique" and that "he [Robles] was gen'ally reputed a Portugall having kindred that are Portugalls in ye Canaryes and Holland." Dunnington reported that he had traveled with Robles on trading sojourns of several months each to the Canaries, Holland, and Antwerp, but this evidence provided no conclusive proof of his nationality. That same day, Domingo de la Cerda, a relation of Robles, testified that he himself was a Jew born in Spain to converso parents who fled from the Inquisition into Portugal but that he could not testify to a certainty as to the nationality of Robles. The matter was further confused when Robles testified on his own behalf, for he both claimed to be a Jew and admitted that "he is not yet Circumcised." The prosecution of this case consumed the better part of two months and resulted in a seemingly endless sequence of letters, petitions, depositions, and eyewitness testimony. Even the Commission for the Admiralty and Navy was unable to reach a firm conclusion about Robles, stating that they "doe not finde any convicting evidence to cleare up either the Nation or Religion of the peticoner."[1]

We might read this investigation as a quest to define the boundaries of English national identity at a temporal moment when the power of the English crown to command allegiance was ebbing and at its weakest. Or, following Haim Beinart and David S. Katz, we could read it as yet another example of the requisite but deceitful posing of those forced by circumstance into the double life of the secret Jew.[2] It was indeed a complicated matter, which opens itself to both types of readings. However, I would like to suggest a third alternative: that we mark the case as the opening gambit in a struggle over economic privilege—specifically, over the right to participate in developing markets that were beginning to focus ever more seriously on transatlantic exchange. In this scenario, the rules for determining the subject's true allegiance and his claim to belong—indeed, the very nature of his subjecthood—became the means of demarcating economic turf: those who found themselves unable to prove their allegiance to the satisfaction of local authorities were economically disenfranchised—unless loftier powers in the hierarchy of governance (specifically, the king or his Privy Council) could be prevailed upon to intervene.

How, then, did Jewish merchants conduct effective trading operations within the broader scheme of British transatlantic trade? In this chapter, I examine a number of Jewish traders of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries who operated—more or less legally—in Britain and its colonies. In the interstices of these tales, we will find, I think, some significant clues as to the interplay of British regulation, the refinement of transatlantic consumer culture, and economic opportunism. Although each merchant had a different vision for how to succeed in an adverse environment, collectively their stories tells us something about Jewish agency in the process of adapting the available opportunities to the rhythms of a broader British Atlantic economy.

If, as David Katz suggests, it was the Robles case that finally exposed England's nascent Jewish community to open scrutiny, it did no more than denominate as specifically Jewish activities that had already been going on for some time. Converso merchants had been operating in London with official connivance of the Crown since the reign of Henry VIII.[3] Antonio Fernandes Carvajal is a case in point. Establishing himself in London sometime in the mid-1630s, Carvajal was well known and well respected in London's burgeoning mercantile circles by the early 1640s for his success in the Canary Islands trade. Thus, when one William Sherman denounced him as a recusant of the Church of England in 1645, it was Sherman and not Carvajal who was summoned to the House of Lords to explain what the Lords could only interpret as an action calculated to violate the peace and, therefore, disrupt the profitable Spanish trade. Significantly, Carvajal ingratiated himself with the growing Puritan ascendancy during the 1640s by lending monies to Parliament in furtherance of English trade, providing intelligence, and importing "great store of plate and Bullion to this Cittye," to a sufficient extent that in 1650 the Privy Council issued an order that he "shall not bee molested in his trade exchange or traffique or have anie of his goods seized by virtue of Warrant given out from this Council" against Portuguese property.[4]

Yet it was only after the founding of the Commonwealth government, under Cromwell's rule, that conditions seemed ripe for well-established conversos to attempt the public revelation of their underlying Jewish identity. After 1655, with his endenization (naturalization) and with public reports on the Whitehall conference on the proposal for Readmission of the Jews, Carvajal, by virtue of his prominence, provided the most obvious example in the public eye of Jewish "hypocrisy." As John Bland described it, Carvajal had basely taken advantage of England's tolerant ambiance by revealing his true identity as a Jew only "after twenty years living in *England,* enjoying all privileges and quietnesse among us, [being] received as a Citizen in this City of *London,* trading freely without the least molestation." As Bland saw it, Carvajal had waited for "only a fit time to discover . . . a seeming consent" of the readmission of the Jews before acknowledging the truth. Now, he wrote, "this *Fernandes Caravahal* . . . a plain down-right Jew, acknowledging he never was or would be a Christian, taking upon him the outward profession of Christianity only for safety, which now he needed no longer to make use of, being he could live in *England* as a professed Jew, and receive more respect with O.P. [e.g., Cromwell] or his Council in all businesses, either for himself or his Tribe, than any Christian could have whatsoever."[5]

Indeed, Carvajal played a clever game, one in which his connections in government played a central role. When war broke out with Spain in 1656, Carvajal plied his connections to Cromwell in search of a way to protect his property in the Canaries. With Cromwell's connivance, Carvajal chartered an English ship at Dover, renamed it the *Irish Merchant,* manned it with a crew of Dutch sailors, and sent it to the Canaries to be loaded with Spanish goods under cover of bills of lading naming two Dutch merchants based in Amsterdam. In fact, the ship returned directly to London.[6]

It was, indeed, no accident that the first of the series of laws intended to regulate commerce between England and its colonial possessions, the so-called Navigation Acts, took effect at the same moment the Readmission of the Jews had become a matter of such serious discussion. The mercantile machinations that Carvajal and his companions adopted for the purpose of deflecting the suspicion of Spanish authorities had the unintended—if not entirely unwelcome—consequence of creating confusion among officials at English ports, and the result was utter chaos when it came to the collection of the Royal customs. It should hardly surprise us to find that the cargo of the *Irish Merchant* was condemned on the libel of an English informer after the ship reached port in July 1656. Nor was this the first or the last time that Carvajal attempted the technique of shipping goods to and from Spain in a nominally non-English ship. In 1639, Carvajal had used a Scottish ship, the *Margaret,* to ship linen and other goods from Le Havre to Malaga, but he told English port officials at Plymouth that the vessel was not in fact a Scottish bottom. And, in a notorious case during July of 1658, Carvajal, Robles, and a group of their associates broke into a customs warehouse at the Port of London and liberated a sizeable parcel of logwood that Carvajal had imported from the West Indies via the Canary Islands in a Dutch bottom.[7]

Still, in 1650 misgivings about the potential of a Jewish presence in England appeared to spring largely from religious ideology. As had been true a few decades earlier in the Netherlands, England badly needed trade, and anyone who could assist in the country's economic development was welcomed. As the respective cases of Carvajal and Robles highlight, Jews brought a range of mercantile competencies to the English market that were simply lacking in the domestic population. If their status as non-Christians, or perhaps (more accurately) as non-Protestants, was somehow fraught, economic necessity soon became the final arbiter of the religious question. At least initially, a Jewish merchant need only to apply to the Crown for endenization to give the appearance of acting within the terms of the new law, and Jewish merchants who intended to trade with any seriousness of purpose pursued this path to legitimacy. Ninety, at least, were naturalized in this fashion between 1655 and 1680.[8]

By 1680, however, the growing prowess of English merchants in overseas trade had led to the rise of intensive competition between Jewish merchants pursuing English trade and their English counterparts at home and abroad. Attitudes toward Jewish activities in trade thus quickly shifted from generally neutral toward the sharply negative. Now the Navigation Acts became the principle means for challenging the right of Jews to freely engage in a trade that, in the minds of many, should properly lie in English hands. Between 1660 and 1680, English merchants submitted a variety of petitions to local, provincial, and national authorities complaining about Jewish trading techniques and questioning the right of Jewish merchants to trade in England and its colonies on equal terms with English merchants. It was not long before the local authorities initiated legal proceedings seeking to invalidate the claims of Jewish merchants. The earliest of these appears to have been the Admiralty prosecution of the New York merchant Rabba Couty in Jamaica in 1671, in which

Couty's credentials as an English subject were questioned precisely because he was a Jew.[9] An instance that struck closer to the heart of Anglo-Jewry, as it were, was the complaint lodged by Royal customs agent Samuel Hayne from Falmouth. In October 1680, Hayne examined the cargo of the ship *Experiment,* only to find that goods entered under the name of the captain (an English Quaker) were in fact consigned to thirty-five different traders—all, according to Hayne's account, allegedly Jews.

It was Hayne's accusation that, by falsely registering the goods, the merchants and the captain had attempted to cheat the Crown out of the £154 in customs duty that would ordinarily have been assessed as Aliens duty under the Navigation Acts, had the true state of ownership been declared upon the ship's arrival.[10] Hayne's case hinged on the claim that the Jewish merchants were not entitled to conduct trade, either in England or its possessions, as English subjects. As a consequence of their status as nonsubjects, they could not therefore have registered their ownership of the goods in question without incurring the excess duty. Certainly the fact that the *Experiment* was en route from Barbados with a final destination in Amsterdam was sufficient in itself to rouse concern; but when Hayne learned she had failed to unload her cargo at Falmouth for examination, as the law required, his suspicions were piqued. Without knowing the particulars of the traders to whom the goods on board were consigned, he attempted to condemn the goods under the Navigation Acts, only to be confronted by Antonio Gomeserra and Antonio Baruch Lousada, two Jewish merchants working together in partnership and based in London, who had been granted Patents of Endenization from the Crown in 1672 and 1675, respectively.[11]

Once the jury had concluded that the goods belonged to Lousada and Gomeserra, Hayne found himself without an effective legal recourse to act against the fraud he believed had been perpetrated against the Crown customs. Instead, he wrote up his experience with the *Experiment* case, dedicated the tract to King James II, and published it along with the suggestion that the Crown assert its authority to charge Alien customs against all Jewish merchants—a proposal that, in effect, would ensure that Jews, whether endenizened or not, would always constitute a separate and unequal class of subjects. A similar case filed in 1684 in Rhode Island by that colony's surveyor general appears to underscore the general assessment of those charged with the enforcement of the Navigation

Acts that Jews were not eligible to take advantage of the English subject's license to pay duties at the lower rates, no matter how long the term of residence. Although the Rhode Island case concluded with the return of seized goods to the Jewish merchants involved, the Jews were promised only such "protection here as any strangers being not of our nation residing amongst us"—providing, of course, that they remained "obedient to his Majesty's laws."[12]

These cases point to the most significant challenge faced by Jewish merchants in the Atlantic world—the negotiation of imperial boundaries. Jews initially shared some of the characteristics of these negotiations with other groups of merchants living in diaspora during the seventeenth century—the Scots, the Quakers, and the Huguenots spring readily to mind—to a greater or lesser extent. Yet by the early eighteenth century, most of the circumstances that had segregated Scottish, Quaker, and Huguenot merchants from their English counterparts were in the process of dissolving. England and Scotland were formally allied as Britain under the 1707 Act of Union, which led to great prosperity for Scottish merchants, who now operated with the full benefit of the Navigation Acts in English overseas possessions—a particular boon to Glasgow's infamous tobacco magnates.[13] The deep fears about Quaker theology, which had led to the ostracism of that group during the decades of early Quaker activism, waned sharply after 1689, as the Toleration Act, the Affirmation Act, and other liberal policies legitimized their independent social standing and the Friends themselves adopted doctrinal reforms that resulted in a less confrontational public style.[14] And Huguenot merchants, long sheltered in England as refugees from Catholic persecution, increasingly allied themselves with Protestant Dutch and English mercantile networks as part of a larger Protestant International, creating kinship networks that comprised French, Dutch, and English Protestants.[15] Of all these groups, it was thus the Jews alone who continued to face barriers often rendered insurmountable by differences, whether real or perceived, in religion, language, and culture. Their situation as nonparticipants kept at the margins of the Anglo-American polity, unlike those of other groups in mercantile diaspora, would not change until well into the nineteenth century.

For some Jewish merchants, boundary negotiations were necessitated by their geographical movements; for others, it resulted from the in situ shifts in imperial jurisdiction over the particular geographic site in which they were established. But in either event, it meant coming to terms with shifting ideologies about the role of commerce in colonial development as well as adapting to the changing conditions of local and transatlantic markets. One locus that epitomized both kinds of change was colonial New York. Discussion of the Jewish presence in Dutch New Amsterdam and, later, English New York, invariably focuses on the struggle by Jews toward the achievement of the privileges of civil (that is to say, legal) equality, often to the exclusion of more compelling themes.[16] A number of studies have highlighted the role of Asser Levy van Swellem as a catalyst of progress toward the inclusion of the Jews in the colonial polity of New Amsterdam, and indeed Levy played an important role in pushing Director General Stuyvesant and his council into giving ground on the rights question for Jews in New Netherland. It was Levy, for example, who was first among the Jews to petition the court of New Amsterdam for the burgher right (April 1657), arguing that the same privileges had already been granted to Jews in the Netherlands. (This logic failed to prove persuasive, but a petition to the director general and the council of New Netherland by four of his Sephardic compatriots nevertheless succeeded in producing an order to effectuate the desired change in the alleged "policy.")[17] And it was Levy, as well, who first pursued the right the bear arms and perform militia service in lieu of paying the odious exemption fee imposed by ordinance of the council. Though initially denied this request, by the time of his petition for the burgher right eighteen months later he could report that he indeed "keeps watch and ward" along with New Amsterdam's burghers.[18]

Yet there has been no study, to date, of the principal motivation for Levy's dogged pursuit of the burgher right—that is, his determination to succeed economically in the colonial trade. As Jacob Rader Marcus astutely observed, the accumulation of documents asserting legal privileges (and it should be noted that Levy took the trouble to present a copy of his *Poortersbrief* from the City of Amsterdam to help him make the case for his burgher right in New Amsterdam) was closely allied with the right to conduct trade under the laws of the nation in which the privileges were being sought. Throughout early modern Europe, Jews were routinely presumed to be aliens unless proven otherwise and thus devoid of many legal rights relative to property that were inherent to legitimate subjects.[19] Jewish merchants thus sought to assemble documents that established their fitness for whatever legal privileges the law would allow them, primarily as a means to protect themselves from untoward hindrance by local authorities as they engaged in transnational and transatlantic mercantile activities.[20] Once obtained, legal protections could nevertheless be wielded by the recipient as a double-edged sword. They could, of course, be deployed defensively to circumvent restrictions around an incipient livelihood; but they also had great utility for asserting claims to an even broader set of privileges. Indeed, Johannes Megapolensis underscored this point in his well-known 1655 letter to the Classis of Amsterdam. Writing a few months after the arrival of Jewish refugees from Recife, Domine Megapolensis crudely referenced rumors of the imminent construction of a synagogue in New Amsterdam when he complained that "these people [e.g., Jews] have no other God than the Mammon of unrighteousness, and no other aim than to get possession of Christian property, *and to overcome all other merchants by drawing all trade towards themselves.*"[21]

What makes Asser Levy's situation intriguing is therefore not that he chose to ask for the burgher right, but rather what he did with it once the authorities relented. Of all of the Jews appearing in the records of New Netherland, Levy is unique. He was one of only a few Ashkenazim among the Jews (Jacob Barsimson can be identified as another), as well as the only Jewish arrival from 1654 to remain in New Amsterdam as a permanent resident until the time of his death. He was also the only Jew to have lived in New Amsterdam both before and after its transfer to English rule. He was not the first Jew to attempt to construct a mercantile trade in the colony, nor was he the wealthiest among his compatriots, but he persisted when the better-capitalized and well-connected Sephardi merchants surrendered and moved away.[22] After 1660, he experienced periods when he was the only Jewish man, or one of only two Jewish men, in the colony, suggesting that he led an isolated religious life.[23] When Levy arrived in New Amsterdam, he was a man of middle years, probably in his thirties. It is not known when his wife, Miriam, joined him, but she was living in New York by 1674 and she remained there until her death in 1688. She may have come with him in 1654 or, perhaps, when he returned to New Netherland from a business trip to Amsterdam and Germany made in the Spring of 1660.[24] For at least part of his time in New Amsterdam, it is probable that Asser Levy lived a lonely existence.

Yet, Levy persevered in constructing a life in New Netherland that was equally devoted to mercantilism and to Judaism, and over the years his trade began to prosper. Rather than attempt to evade the laws and regulations of the colony, as Carvajal, Robles, and other Sephardic merchants were doing, he seems to have been steadfast in playing by the rules. In October of 1660, he began to leave poverty behind him when he was licensed as one of six sworn butchers for the city of New Amsterdam—careful, in the process, to petition that, unlike the others, he be considered exempt from butchering hogs and that he be sworn on the Old Testament alone—both, it was noted, as requisite to his religious identity as a Jew.[25] By December 1662, he was paying taxes as a burgher of New Amsterdam, albeit the only Jew among them; and by January 1665, though certainly not the wealthiest of New Amsterdam's burghers, he had accumulated sufficient wherewithal to have hired Aucke Jansen's daughter as a housemaid.[26] The inventory taken of his estate in 1682 indicates a well-appointed household, containing plenty of iron pots, brass, and pewter for everyday use, two pillow beds with all the requisite linens, and an elegant suit of clothes consisting of "gros grane" britches, silk stockings, a black velvet jacket, a six-pound cotton wig, and a black beaver hat. Included in his stock for trade were table linens, various items of clothing (shirts, smocks, petticoats, bodices, underclothes, aprons, stockings, neck clothes, linen hoods, lace caps), a variety of silver vessels and decorative items, and gold and silver jewelry, as well as fifty skiples of salt, two barrels of tar, and some timber and plank "to build a house." His business dealings were extensive; at the time of his death in 1682, some 440 persons owed money to Asser Levy, their names painstakingly listed longhand on thirteen folio pages at the end of the inventory.[27]

This snapshot of Asser Levy's stunning success tells only a part of his story. What gave him the confidence to cross the Atlantic and establish himself in trade on the wild frontiers of the Americas? Where did he find the nerve to take on the established Dutch and English powers of the colony in pursuit of legal privileges for Jews like himself? These are perhaps the obvious questions. Less obvious, but more interesting, is how he managed to achieve what he did in a comparatively barren and unfriendly environment. An analysis of his debt and credit network, combined with the evidence from extant court records, sheds some light on Levy's business tactics. First, of the more than 400 debtors listed on Levy's estate inventory, about 240 can be associated with a particular geographic area within the colony. Some of these identifications were made by Levy himself; others can be determined from extant court records from New York City and Albany. While the majority of these persons, as we might expect, were located near Levy's home base in New York City or its vicinity (including the five Dutch towns and the English towns on Long Island and in Westchester), approximately 60 can be identified as residents of the Hudson Valley region, 36 of them in Albany alone and another 20 in Esopus. In addition, about two dozen of his contacts in New York City also had ongoing connections to the Hudson Valley for property or trade and occasionally made trips there.[28]

Levy's interest in the Hudson Valley and the trading opportunities it offered came early on in his sojourn in New Netherland. Between August 1658 and July 1659, he sued six different persons in the courts at Fort Orange for debts of various kinds.[29] By July of 1660, he was doing business with Jan Michielsen, who purchased goods from him to the value of 184 guilders "in good merchantable beavers," in return for which Levy accepted a mortgage on Michielsen's house in Beverwyck pending the projected payment of the debt in June 1661.[30] The following year, he purchased the Beverwyck house of Marcellus Janssen van Bommel at public vendue for the sum of 1,709 guilders, payable in three annual installments. He immediately leased the property, then sold it the following year for 1,920 guilders in beaver (a handsome profit, by any stretch of the imagination),[31] but his investment in real estate in Fort Orange suggests a certain permanence to his interests in the upper Hudson Valley. Indeed, the ongoing character of Levy's business in Albany was recognized by the Albany Court in August of 1670, when the justices ordered him to pay thirty florins "towards the needs of this place," although Levy continued to reside in New York City.[32]

The precise nature of Levy's trade is elusive; however, the evidence does suggest some patterns. Although only a few of Levy's accounts identify the debtor with a profession, the entries that list such an association give the impression that a healthy portion of his activities meant dealing with tradesmen. That several butchers and shoemakers are listed can be expected from the fact that Levy was a licensed butcher who, at the time of his death, was operating a slaughterhouse in company with Gerrett Janse Roos. However, the preponderance of bakers, millers, brewers, tailors, and weavers among the trades listed suggest that Levy was also trading in grain, flour, and fabrics, a notion that is confirmed by some marginal notes concerning particular commodities either delivered or owed (e.g., "blew boore," "Indian corne," "Wheate," and "flower"). The few carpenters and glaziers on the list suggest a connection to the building trades, as do the references to plank and wood. Several hatters on the list make a logical link to the furs that Levy frequently accepted as payment for goods, particularly from his contacts in the Hudson Valley, where fur remained an accepted form of currency. However, the list also reflects appreciable contact with public officials and with many other merchants in New York City, as well as with farmers in the towns of Long Island and Westchester.[33]

If, as the inventory of his estate suggests, Levy was supplying European goods to many of his trade contacts, how was he getting these? The evidence suggests that he employed various means to maintain his transatlantic supply connections. In 1660, he made a voyage to Amsterdam to settle some mercantile affairs, likely renewing some contacts at that time. The following April, Sophia van Wyckersloot of Beverwyck and her husband, Anthony Toinel, recorded her conveyance to Levy of her interest in "all the goods and merchandise which she is expecting out of Patria [i.e., Holland] by the ship *Beaver,* consigned to her by her father," in return for a 75 percent advance on the cost of the goods, plus freight, to be paid by Levy.[34] Further, Levy cemented his trading connections by serving as attorney for correspondents on the opposite side of the Atlantic: in May of 1662, he acted on behalf of Abraham Cohen in Amsterdam to bring suit against merchant Cornelis Pluyvier for the redemption of a mortgage made between Cohen and Pluyvier and secured by a house in New Amsterdam.[35]

Asser Levy evidently had a vision for how to make the Hudson Valley trade profitable. That vision was not widely shared by other Jewish merchants interested in partaking of the opportunities offered by the river and its traffic. One of Levy's contemporaries in New Amsterdam, Jacob de Lucena, was also engaged in trading on the Hudson over a period of years, but he never built the kinds of contacts or property interest in Albany that Levy was able to establish. Lucena had occasion to sue merchant Thomas Davis in 1671, after Davis failed to deliver in good order "a parcel of Stockings to be Transported for Albany" in the defendant's ship.[36] Three years later, Lucena was embroiled in a dispute over twenty-five skeples of wheat he said were owed to him by a Mr. Palingh at Esopus, and that he had asked the defendant to receive it on his behalf—a sample of the "sundry debts due to him in those places."[37] But Lucena never cultivated the respect of English authorities, and in 1678 he was forced to petition Governor Andros for a pass to trade in Albany and Esopus, complaining that he had been unfairly prevented from pursuing his interests there by the New York City Custom House. Although he had already entered and cleared a shipment aboard the sloop *Beverwick* and paid the duty assessed, just as he had during the course of the preceding eight years "without any lett or hindrance, as other traders and dealers have done," he found that his right to trade in the Hudson Valley was now suddenly in question and that his shipment would not be allowed to proceed without the governor's leave.[38]

The Hudson Valley trade also attracted a number of other Jewish merchants whose only view was to make a living for themselves in the most expedient manner. Two of these were Joseph Browne and Isaac Gabay, who apparently arrived in New York in 1686. Without knowledge of English law, the two quickly ran afoul of a statute prohibiting the boarding of a vessel before the master had reported her arrival to the Custom House, and they were fined accordingly.[39] The pair petitioned for remission of this fine and subsequently were endenizened "with liberty to trade or traffic." Shortly thereafter, they were licensed "to peddle in the county of Ulster."[40]

These counter examples help set the coordinated enterprise of Asser Levy into relief. Where merchants such as Lucena, Browne, and Gabay perceived the prospect of selling as their golden opportunity, Levy thought buying was an equally important aspect of his transactions. Trading at a time when the colony was still in its infancy and the primary economic emphasis lay with sending exportable raw materials back to Europe, Asser Levy learned to capitalize on serving the needs of Dutch and English settlers by supplying those on the frontier with the trappings of Europe and taking payment in commodities that could be sold downriver in New York City, either for local use or for export.[41] What Asser Levy knew was that only by filling the hold of his ships both for the voyage and the return trip could a merchant hope to make his transactions profitable and (in the words of John McCusker) "manage his risk." Prosperity for an urban Jew operating from the margins of society hinged on how successful he was in cultivating the surrounding rural hinterland both as a market for the products that he could deliver and as a supplier of the commodities that he could sell. Whatever those particular items might be, the process remained a two-way street.

If Carvajal and Levy represent the archetypal seventeenth-century market chameleon, able to adapt to variable markets under varied kinds of authority—one in the fraught environment of internecine Anglo-European conflict and the other in a frontier society whose ownership was embroiled in the contest between the Dutch and the English for transatlantic prowess—the successful Jewish merchants of eighteenth century British American port towns were equally the products of their time and place. To understand the context in which they operated, we must come to terms with the world as they knew it. Their world was one in which the market dominance of raw materials was well matched by the growing significance of manufactures, in which the gentility of a man or woman was marked by the discreet employment of polite refinements rather than the accumulation of commodities. This was as true in the American colonies as it was in metropolitan London, even if it differed by degree. The marketplace of the eighteenth-century British Atlantic was complex and multifaceted, incorporating producers, consumers, and technologies into a dynamic from which use and meaning could be constructed or derived. This was a world in which, as David Hancock has put it, “consumers expected to be heard and heeded.”[42] To succeed in this world, Jewish merchants therefore had to master not only the rules of supply and demand but also the increasingly more important question of consumer confidence.

In 1986, Timothy Breen first drew attention to the “Anglicization” of North American markets during the eighteenth century.[43] Since that time, scholarship on colonial consumption patterns has evolved slowly and sparingly. A few scholarly works have examined the transatlantic nature of the flow of British goods,[44] but more work in colonial economic history has focused on the culture of selling consumer goods rather than on that of buying them.[45] More recently, scholarly discussion has shifted away from the volume of British goods imported into the North American colonies and toward the social uses to which they were put—that is, to advance the polite refinement and gentility of those colonists gaining in affluence.[46] Still, little attention has been paid to the developing networks of colonial consumption and distribution in which *both* sellers and buyers played integral roles. These networks not only helped to make the colonies a superior marketplace for British manufactures but also linked the economies of the individual colonies together and helped them to achieve "competency" apart from the metropolitan markets in London and Bristol. This understudied secondary trade between the colonies (sometimes called the coastal trade) was also transatlantic in the broadest sense. While it made no direct contribution to the coffers of the Crown or those of London's growing merchant class, it helped stabilize colonial markets by meeting the consumption needs of British Americans and in that way contributed to the articulation of a comprehensive system of imperial commerce.

While there is much scholarship to document the manner in which the colonies provided Britain with ready supplies of raw materials necessary for British textile manufactures and consumer commodities, only a few scholars have attempted to delineate the marketing of consumer goods produced in the colonies themselves.[47] In recent discussions on refinement and its spread, there is another missing component: namely, the merchants who served as midwives to this process by mediating the exchange of colonial products for imported goods. Here, I will address how some Jewish merchants in British America worked to develop consumer markets for a number of markers of respectable genteel culture in the colonial context, including Scotch snuff, spermaceti candles, tea, and fine wines—specifically, Portuguese wines and cordials. These items played a key role in the growing colonial cult of gentility and refinement during the middle decades of the eighteenth century.

Jewish merchants epitomized the transformation to a market economy in the British American colonies, involving both the development of commodities desirable to the ordinary household and the evolution of a middle class with disposable income. Consumers on the American side of the British Atlantic competed with one another for access to the best quality goods to prove their "gentility" and their fitness for entrée into a polite society constructed on the English model.[48] Jewish merchants alternately fed and were fed by the consumer impulse, importing and selling genteel commodities such as English textiles, china, metalware, Portuguese wines, tea, sugar, West Indies rum, chocolate, and coffee. They were also instrumental in local manufactures by which genteel consumer goods were created from raw materials. In short, Jewish merchants kept themselves busy developing markets for consumer products—both those of local manufacture and those imported from abroad. Jewish artisans with aspirations to affluence were also quick to tap into these developments: as Leo Hershkowitz has described it, the relationship between the English physician Peter Middleton and the Jewish goldsmith Myer Myers of New York City grew largely out of Myers desire to develop contacts among a class of potential consumers. In the extant medical logbook kept by Dr. Middleton of his services to his patients, Hershkowitz found evidence that the ongoing relationship between Middleton and Myers as doctor and patient was informed as much by Myers' desire for entrée to the circle of New York society which desired and could afford the silver plate he created as it was by his desire for good medical services.[49]

Although it is unclear when their interest in snuff as a vendible commodity began, extant records show that by the 1730s, New York's Jewish merchants were investing in its manufacture. During that decade, two Jewish partners from New York, Michael Asher and Isaac Solomon, had set up a snuff mill in Boston, with financial backing from their wealthy New York merchant counterpart Mordecai Gomez, who also served as their primary supplier of raw tobacco. However, the Boston partners to this venture soon fell to squabbling, and shortly thereafter the partnership devolved into litigation before the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts.[50] The production of snuff was also among the earliest joint manufacturing/marketing ventures in which Jewish merchants were engaged in eighteenth-century Newport. Established in 1750 by a trio of New York Jews—Jacob Rodriguez Rivera, Moses Lopez, and Aaron Nunes Cardoso—the Scotch snuff manufactory was operated by them at least through 1752. During this time, Cardoso resided in Newport and oversaw the operations of the snuff mill, while Rivera and Lopez were responsible for marketing the product in New York, evidently filling a void in the consumer market left by the earlier demise of the Boston venture.

The nature of this trade should not be overstated—the manufacture of snuff was indeed a far cry from the large-scale purchase and transport of whole tobacco crops, which was the business of Virginia's notorious Scottish factors.[51] Unlike tobacco factorage, however, snuff manufacture required comparatively little from the merchant in terms of capital investment or transatlantic connections. Snuff also appears to have been an easy commodity to make, and its manufacture was apparently widespread among Jewish merchants in the British colonies. Even those merchants whose primary trading activities centered on the export of colonial produce and the import of finished British manufactures were, like Naphtali and Isaac Hart of Newport, likely to maintain a snuff mill on their town lots or country estates.[52] Almost any grade of tobacco might be used, from the finest Virginia or Havana leaf to stalks of Santo Domingo or something called "Negro head"; the trick lay in the manner of curing the tobacco (by soaking or drying) and in the creation of flavored varieties that would be appealing to the discerning consumer. A surviving letter of the Jamaican merchant Isaac Mendes da Sola from the early nineteenth century transmits a series of such "receipts" for particularly genteel types of snuff, including Rose (flavored with brandy and attar of roses), Black Macuba (sun-dried and flavored using "old brandy," with "essence of garlic to treat the bottle"), Irish Black Guard (oven-dried and treated with "spirits of wine"), and Danish (soaked in a heady combination of molasses, sweet oil, and laudanum, and then flavored with vanilla, garden balsam, and tonquin).[53] In addition, snuff could be produced in relatively small quarters, a key factor for merchants living in town.

In short, snuff represented an ideal commodity for the Jewish merchant looking to expand into the market of genteel refinement: it was relatively undemanding, required comparatively little in capital investment, the techniques and equipment were easily transportable if need be, and it resulted in a product that appealed to a class of consumers with ready money to spend on luxury goods who might also, if one played one's cards correctly, provide the up-and-coming merchant with the necessary social entrée for overall success. Small wonder, then, that Jewish merchants, who moved frequently from port to port, found it an appealing commodity. Nevertheless, the retail marketing of snuff was somewhat complicated. It required, above all, the construction and cultivation of good repute—no mean feat for Jewish merchants, particularly in markets ruled by public prejudices about the dishonesty and cupidity of Jews, especially those involved in trade.[54]

This was a lesson that snuff merchant Emanuel Abrahams would learn during the autumn of 1754, when his business conduct was grossly impugned by one of his would-be suppliers, Allan Melville, in the pages of the *Boston Gazette.* It was Melville's claim that Abrahams, "a Jew," had not only had "the notorious Impudence to go thro' the Town" selling "a certain Kind of Trash of his own making," but that "in order to make it sell quick" he had done so by using a known brand name (Kippen's) and said he obtained the stuff from Melville. Of course, an imputation of this type could not be permitted to let stand. But rather than respond to Melville with threats, Abrahams chose to address his "credit and reputation" with the public at large. Melville's claim was "without foundation" he said, but since "Mr. Melville is pleased to give my Goods the Character of Trash and musty Trash," he countered by offering "Samples on Trial" so that customers could judge for themselves. Evidently, it was not enough for a Jewish merchant to state, "I always treated my Customers with the utmost civility and the best of Goods"; in a diffident market like Boston, where suspicion of Jews abounded, proof was required.[55]

Although the Newport snuff mill venture by Rivera, Lopez, and Cardoso was apparently short-lived, it represented only the first of many such efforts by Rivera and Lopez to manufacture consumer goods they could use their mercantile skills to vend to the growing consumer market throughout the British colonies. Their next venture proved even more significant—the manufacture of candles from tallow, green wax, and most importantly, the spermaceti obtained through local whaling operations. Organizing a spermaceti works was not a simple matter. The candle manufactory, unlike the snuff mill, was a large-scale venture, requiring significant capital investment—more than either Jacob Rivera or Moses Lopez possessed. For this purpose, therefore, Rivera and Lopez turned to outside investors. One significant investor in the candleworks in its earliest phase was the Boston merchant John Bannister, who later moved to Newport. In fact, Bannister's extant account book reveals that by July 1750 Moses Lopez was drawing on Bannister for the capital necessary, and notes that by July 18, 1752, Bannister's gain from his investment in this enterprise amounted to £972.7.10.[56] The success of Rivera and Lopez in producing vendible candles attracted others in Rhode Island to the manufacture of spermaceti candles, including the Brown family of Providence.[57] Within ten years, a cartel had been formed to control the price at which spermaceti would be purchased by the Rhode Island manufacturers from local whalers; by 1770 spermaceti candle manufactories had sprung up throughout coastal New England and as far south as Philadelphia.[58] Spermaceti candles were marketed not only in the mainland colonies but also in the Caribbean and even across the Atlantic. Clearly, Rivera and Lopez had found a good idea for a highly marketable consumer product.

The process of making good candles required skill. It also required sensitivity to the desires of potential consumers. By 1755, Aaron Lopez, who had become involved in the spermaceti candle venture, wrote to Hayman Levy of New York regarding a shipment sent to Levy for sale. Although the candles in question had been prepared in conformity with a sample provided by Levy, Lopez found the sample primitive and could not forbear to mention that "we are surprized [New Yorkers] should give the preference" to that version of the product. Moses Lopez and Jacob Rodriguez Rivera had begun by producing candles similar to the sample Levy had provided, he wrote, "but finding they had not Credit in any part of the West Indies (because they have there Tallow Candles from Europe which Look as well for Shape and whiteness) we Improved them by Making them More Transparent & Somewhat to Immitate Wax for which reasons they are in so great reputation in the West Indies." In short, when driven to provide a product that could compete with candles of European manufacture, Rivera had experimented with the refining process until he came up with a whiter, more translucent candle. With this adjustment, the Lopez and Rivera candles regained the attention of genteel consumers in the West Indies and impressed some gentlemen there, one of whom wrote to the New York factor, Gabriel Ludlow, "that they prefer'd my Cousin Rivera's Candles to all others."

Indeed, Aaron Lopez could also report other disinterested testimonials to the quality of the candles produced using Rivera's method. A London contact would even warrant that the Lopez and Rivera candles "surpass anything of that Kind made In England." He nevertheless informed Levy that unless the New York customers were to change their order the manufactory would continue to turn out candles to match the sample Levy had provided because, as he said, one method of manufacture was just as easy as another and the profits were essentially the same.[59] Here, the Lopez brothers and Rivera openly acknowledged the critical role played by the consumer in defining what constituted refined taste. New York consumers may have wanted a candle that Aaron Lopez considered to be less refined, but he viewed himself as powerless to impose his opinion upon them. It was their judgment—not his—that constituted the ultimate arbiter of taste. Accordingly, he was willing to continue making "inferior" grade candles to their specifications as long as they so desired. In thus responding to the very different standards of consumers in New York and the West Indies, Lopez and Rivera demonstrated their fitness for the "custom" of genteel purchasers with their own distinct opinions about what qualities represented refinement in a given product.

It might be said that Aaron Lopez himself provides an exemplar of the outsider who became the ultimate insider in Newport.[60] When he arrived in Newport in 1752 with his wife, Abigail, and their infant daughter, he had little, if any, capital. Nevertheless, he quickly went about the process of setting himself up as a small trader. In this, he was clearly aided by his elder half-brother, Moses, who had by then had been living in Newport for over a decade.[61] However, Aaron Lopez possessed some important qualities of his own which paved the way for his success in Atlantic trade. First, he was already proficient at English, as is amply demonstrated in his early correspondence; secondly, he had been raised in a genteel environment and had by all accounts mastered the social manners necessary for success in polite society. Third, and most important, he perceptively discerned the contours of the Atlantic mercantile world. Capitalizing on his brother's deep connections to the Jewish community of New York, Aaron's earliest New York trading contacts included the well-to-do Daniel Gomez and the less wealthy but nonetheless successful Hayman Levy, a merchant of good repute and important connections. Lopez started small, vending at retail a few items obtained on short credit from his New York contacts and reinvesting his small profits in additional consumer goods. The growing middle class in Newport, by the time of his arrival there, hungered for the wide variety of consumer goods available in England itself, and Lopez was eager to take advantage of the opportunities presented by the British American trade.[62]

The strategy Lopez used to construct a mercantile enterprise from this small beginning is revealed in his correspondence with Hayman Levy. In 1753, within a year of his arrival in Newport, Lopez was already prevailing upon his contacts to vend for him a few boxes of spermaceti candles in New York and invest the proceeds in tallow.[63] Eight months later, Lopez requested that Levy send him Bohea tea, as the weather was too hot in June to contemplate the manufacture of candles.[64] On hearing from Levy that candles were slow to sell and would not be likely to provide the money necessary to pay for the tea, Lopez wrote to Levy with additional instructions and a brief apology. "I don't Know but I may press a Little hard on your favours, but you must Consider I am a begginer, my Stock but small & unles I Contrive to Keep my Little trade in a Continual Circulation it Can't answer the End of my Labours; This obliges me to be free with your offers of Friend Ship . . . & therefore [you] must have a Little patience with my Importunityes."[65]

It was, indeed, the "continual circulation" of commodities which made the difference between success and failure for the small trader. The particular genius of Aaron Lopez at this stage lay not so much in his salesmanship as in his consciousness of the need to keep his inventory flowing out the door of his shop and into the hands of his customers and in his careful assessment of consumer demand for particular commodities. In September 1754, for example, he proposed to Levy that the latter extend him "Credit for a few months" so that Lopez might purchase "a Large Chest of Good Tea," since what he had previously received from Levy "is all Sold & Could have disposed of a great deal more, in my Little Circulating Trafick."[66] In this matter, he was able to assess the demand for "Good Tea" in Newport as sufficiently great to outweigh the risk of borrowing the capital needed to make the purchase. The following April, he wrote to Levy expressing his anxieties about the availability of tea and his hope "that my Expectation for Tea will not be disapointed." Since he now perceived that recent news of the political situation and impending war with France might have affected availability of tea, he informed Levy that he had reconsidered his rate and would now pay as high as the market price in order to obtain it, since "I have been out of that article some time & fear shall Loose some good Customers."[67] His strategy, thus revealed, shows the continual balancing and reconsideration of the relationship between supply and demand for particular commodities or, more significantly, between the merchant and his customers.

If the vending of tea and the manufacture of spermaceti candles established men like the Jacob Rodriguez Rivera and the Lopez brothers as merchants who catered to the genteel consumer, the selling of fine wines and cordials cemented the reputation. By 1745, British merchants had established their domination of the trade in Madeira and other Portuguese wines, and these were increasingly added to the list of commodities accorded "genteel."[68] Here, of course, Jewish merchants like Aaron Lopez had the distinct advantage in making purchases for discriminating customers, because as one patron noted, "you was Born in the Country from Whence it comes" and therefore would be better able to assess and obtain wines "of the best Quality" based on an intimate knowledge of the product.[69] Jewish merchants also used their skill to render cordials out of existing stocks of rum or brandy. Here, as with snuff, their success lay in creating varieties that colonial customers were interested in purchasing for use when entertaining their genteel friends and colleagues. Abraham Lopez, who arrived in Newport in 1767, was one Jewish merchant who developed cordial making into a near art form, producing of an array of flavors, including "Anis" (aniseed), "Carons" (peach nut), "Cravo" (clove), and "Limas" (lemon), which his brother Aaron happily marketed throughout the colonies, from Newfoundland to the Caribbean.[70] But production of a quality item did not always match with consumer tastes. Upon receipt of a shipment of four kegs from Abraham Lopez, Joshua Hart of Charlestown noted that the Lopez cordials were "very fine and good"; however, the South Carolina market was so saturated with "Inferior" cordials produced in Boston that he could not expect vigorous sales of those Lopez had sent. Hart suggested to Lopez that only the aniseed and orange liqueurs were likely to sell in Charlestown, because "the other Sorts are not Esteem'd here" by genteel consumers.[71]

If cordials were tricky to market, Jewish merchants had an easier time with Portuguese wines. Their success can be measured, in part, by the central role that wine came to play in their own social activities. Wine, along with snuff, was used as a gift to impress genteel persons with the merchant's polite manners.[72] When nine Jewish merchants established their own club in Newport in 1761, they established a genteel social agenda that included the "liberty to divert at cards" so long as "no member shall presume . . . to play for more than twenty shillings," for the first three hours of the evening. This was followed by supper, a round of "loyal toast[s]," and any club business a member might choose to raise. The group elected a new chairman every month, who served the largely ceremonial role of making after-dinner toasts and imposing the specified fine of "four bottles of good wine" on members who transgressed club rules against gambling (in amounts greater than twenty shillings), "behav[ing] unruly," cursing, swearing, or "offer[ing] to fight." Conversing on "Synagogue affairs" was also prohibited, subject to the same fine.[73] In this, Newport's Jewish merchants also demonstrated that they were as absorbed in the consuming side of the culture of gentility as they were on the vending side of the equation.

Examination of the process of marketing the four commodities described here tells us a number of things about the vending of refinement by Jewish merchants. First, it highlights the fact that consumer demand had a determinative impact on the kinds of genteel consumer goods produced in the colonies. As Neil McKendrick has suggested for England, eighteenth-century consumers experienced a marketplace in which there were more goods available than ever before.[74] For the first time, consumers had a cornucopia of choices. In order to distinguish between the various items available for sale, more energy and attention now had to be expended on the process of buying.[75] This change was as effective in the British colonies as it was in Britain itself.[76] That brings us to a second point, namely, that in a market where consumers had a multiplicity of choices, Jewish merchants had to take special care to retain the confidence of their customers. Although outsiders might define progress by the turnover in a merchant's shop or warehouse, those Jewish merchants who achieved the greatest returns on their investments knew that their bread and butter lay with satisfied consumers. Success depended on being responsive to the needs and desires of customers for good tea, transparent candles, the best quality Lisbon wine, or particular flavors of snuff or cordials. Accordingly, the process of selling to consumers was in many respects highly negotiated, with consumers providing explicit instructions as to the goods they wished to obtain. The Jewish merchants who thrived in this environment were those who quickly developed an artful approach to these "intense conversations" with their customers.[77]

Third, the trading networks that were established by the most successful Jewish merchants, men like Aaron Lopez, were highly complex and encompassed the supply side of the economic equation as well as feeding consumer demand. In March 1755, for example, Lopez informed Hayman Levy that "the Business I follow has Insencible brought me Into an Acquaintance with the Country people with whom drive a Small Trade in a few articles"—and with whom he believed he could barter a significantly larger proportion of dry goods, including English textiles, in return for country produce and local manufactures. Lopez perceived that, if this new endeavor "meets with such success as the prospect presents Now," he could "then prosecute & Enlarge it"—provided, of course, that he could find the right terms for the necessary credit to make it happen. The goal of "this Small Tryal," as Lopez described it, was to expand his overall enterprise, "Improving the main Branch [of trade] I have in hand."[78] By 1758, he had established a trading network in the Rhode Island hinterland that encompassed correspondents in Coventry, Kingstown, Warwick, and Cranston who supplied him with axes, iron piggs, and turkeys in return for textiles, tea, and "any sort" of consumer goods that would otherwise have required them to make a trip to Newport or Boston.[79] By the mid-1760s, this country trade extended into eastern Connecticut and Long Island and also encompassed a wider range of goods and manufactures. In this way, a merchant like Aaron Lopez drew the farmers and artisans of the New England countryside into his network and made them participants in an enlarged system for the distribution of consumer goods.[80]

Of course, there was nothing about this process in itself that was unique to the Jewish merchant. We could expect to find similar calculations of costs and benefits by successful colonial merchants of nearly any stripe or background. But Jewish merchants were in the unique position of remaining outsiders to the spheres of power and influence, and they lacked recourse to shape policies and laws that would promote and enhance their efforts. Again, the experience of Aaron Lopez is a case in point. When Lopez and Isaac Elizer, another Jewish merchant, applied for naturalization in Rhode Island in 1762 under the terms of the 1740 Naturalization Act (13 Geo. II ch. 7), the two men were denied the right to shed their alien status and become lawful subjects of the Crown—once by the colony's General Assembly and twice by its courts. Nonetheless, naturalization (which Lopez managed to obtain in Massachusetts in 1762) still did not culminate in full citizenship rights in Rhode Island.[81] Lopez was appointed in 1773 by the Rhode Island General Assembly to a committee consisting of three prominent merchants assigned to investigate colonial fishing rights in the Gulf of the St. Lawrence.[82] Yet this seems a mere sop for the man who, in 1775, was the single most important taxpayer in the town of Newport and a giant among the town's fisheries trade to boot.[83] Despite his status as the town's economic power-house, there were certain privileges of citizenship that even Lopez could only achieve by means of circumventing local authorities. In Lopez's Rhode Island—unlike Asser Levy's New York—success could not be guaranteed through self-assertion.

While naturalization was routinely granted to Jews in other colonies, Jews often faced other discriminatory bars—for example, the extraordinary taxation imposed on the Jewish communities of Jamaica and Barbados between 1690 and 1740, the limitation on providing court testimony and on slave ownership in Barbados (1669–1706), and explicit prohibitions on Jewish voting in New York (1737–60) and Jamaica (1750–1826).[84] Thus, the pressure on Jewish merchants inhabiting the British Atlantic world of the eighteenth century to be assiduous about the cultivation of customers was necessarily greater than it was on those Anglo-Americans with access to other options. Long restricted from other forms of livelihood, Jews in eighteenth-century British America found themselves largely disinclined to pursue agriculture or engage themselves in artisanal pursuits (apart from smithing of fine metals, as the career of Myer Myers attests). Unlike ordinary Englishmen, who could access a variety of means to achieve economic competency, including cultivation of land and involvement in politics, the market was the singular avenue to affluence for the Jewish merchant, and cultivating consumers was the appropriate modus vivendi for the achievement of success. As Joseph Addison remarked in 1712, Jews "are, indeed so disseminated through all of the trading parts of the world, that they are become the instruments by which . . . mankind are knit together in a general correspondence. They are like the pegs and nails in a great building, which, though they are but little valued in themselves, are absolutely necessary to keep the whole frame together."[85]

Although Jewish merchants arrived at different points in the settlement process of each colony, by 1750 there were at least a few Jewish merchants in nearly every British American port town and many of the market towns who, by virtue of their connections to Jewish merchants in other British American colonies, contributed actively to the vitality of the expanding market of goods for genteel American consumers. Though small in number and outsiders to British society, they were nevertheless, as Addison stated, pegs in the frame of a wider British market economy on the Atlantic's western edge.

CHAPTER FIVE

La Nación among the Nations

Portuguese and Other Maritime Trading Diasporas in the Atlantic, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries

DAVIKEN STUDNICKI-GIZBERT

IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH centuries, *la Nación portuguesa,* or *La Nação*—the community of Portuguese traders, mariners, and migrants settled across the Atlantic—created one of the most extensive and powerful economic networks of the early modern period. This network comprised numerous and tightly interlinked merchant houses based in dozens of expatriate Portuguese communities. The historical origins of the Nation reach back to the late Middle Ages, when Portuguese merchants established trading routes from Africa, the islands of the south Atlantic, and, eventually, Asia to the entrepôts of Flanders to the north. The regular operation of these circuits required that factors and brokers be stationed in foreign market cities. As small groups of Portuguese merchants settled in such cities such as Bruges and Antwerp they formed the nucleus of small, but thriving, Portuguese quarters. Like other late-medieval communities of foreign traders, the expatriate Portuguese constituted, in contemporary terms, a "nation" and received the privileges of limited juridical autonomy accorded to other trading nations such as the Genoese or the Florentines.[1] From these beginnings the Portuguese Nation expanded its presence and operations in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. They were influential players in colonial and European long-distance trading, as well as in the sphere of state financing. At various points—Lisbon, Acapulco, Bahia, and Buenos Aires—the Atlantic networks of the Portuguese Nation overlapped with networks of Portuguese traders active in the Indian Ocean. By the early seventeenth century, Portugal's overseas mercantile community had linked up what was arguably the first truly global trading network.[2]

Coincident with the Nation's external progress in the world of overseas trades were profound internal transformations in its cultural makeup. In the Middle Ages, the merchants of Lisbon were themselves divided by nation: nations of foreigners (Florentine, Genoese, German, Flemish) and local Portuguese merchants who were divided along religious lines between Catholics, or Old Christians, and the Portuguese Sephardim. The massive influx of Spanish Sephardim and the subsequent forced conversion of all Portuguese Jews in 1497—local subjects and refugees alike—shifted the composition of Portugal's merchant class. Mass conversions transformed the older division between Catholic and Jewish merchants into that between Old and New Christians. This new boundary, however, was far more porous, and exogamy among New Christians was prevalent. The high incidence of intermarriage between Old and New Christians, coupled with prevailing notions of identity based on lineage and purity of blood resulted in the "New Christianization" of Portugal's merchants, both at home and abroad. What this meant in reality, in terms of day-to-day religious culture and practice, varied from family to family. The possibilities ranged from those families who committed themselves to maintaining, through memory and private observance, Judaism despite the considerable risks of Inquisitorial prosecution to, at the other end of the spectrum, those families that fully assimilated into the dominant Catholicism of Counter-Reformation Portugal. Adding further complexity to these cultural dynamics was the early seventeenth-century renaissance of public Judaism within the Amsterdam branch of the Portuguese Nation. By the seventeenth century, then, the overseas Portuguese community was composed of Jews, Marranos, New Christians, and Catholics. Following the crises of the mid-seventeenth century, the Nation would fracture into different branches whose interactions faded over the latter half of the seventeenth century: a northern branch of "Jews of the Portuguese Nation" settled in such ports as Bordeaux, Amsterdam, and London; and the Iberian branches, one Portuguese and the other Spanish, which concentrated their operations within the sanctioned trades between metropolis and colonies.[3]

These short sketches provide the rough outlines of what were, arguably, two of the most notable aspects of the Portuguese Nation: its commercial dynamism and its composite religious culture, one born of conversion, exile, survival, and recovery. What follows is an attempt to better understand the relationship between them: how culture—broadly defined—and trade were wed in the Nation. More precisely, it examines how the commercial activities of the Nation emerged from its collective culture, from its practices and structures of kinship, religion, and community. This question has already been explored by historians studying different subcommunities and affiliated branches of the Portuguese overseas trading community. Thanks to such studies it is now possible to pivot the lens, from an internally focused perspective to a comparative, outward-looking perspective, which seeks to situate the experience of the Nation within the larger group of trading diasporas—trading nations—that were active in the Atlantic world between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. This chapter is an effort to flesh out the history of the Atlantic trade diasporas in a way that might complement the rich work already accomplished for the Mediterranean and Indian Ocean basins.[4]

The Atlantic trades, which have most often been seen as the preserve of either small commercial partnerships or large, institutionalized trading companies, were also worked by a sizeable number of trade diasporas. In addition to the Portuguese New Christian and Portuguese Jewish communities, the most famous were the Huguenots, the Basques, the Scottish, and the Genoese; and recent work has recovered the existence of smaller trading networks, such as the Gallegans, the Bretons, the Corsicans, and the traders from Bayonne and its hinterland. The terms used to describe these groups vary. By the eighteenth century the term "nation" was in retreat, though it was retained by the Jewish trading communities of the Atlantic—a suggestive development. Historians have offered "diasporas," "trading circles," "trading networks," and even a Huguenot "international." Nomenclature aside, what these groups shared was an intense involvement in long-distance trade (both legal and extralegal), a broad geography of operation, and a capacity to occupy and dominate different sectors or niches in trade and finances. Their social characteristics include tightly knit bonds that often combined different forms of affiliation (kinship, common homeland, religion); members who were migrants or refugees from their homeland and yet preserved their collective identity; and the experience of being a minority or peripheral community, both in their societies of provenance and in the lands in which they settled.

These features were inter-related. The experiences of departure, dispersion, and movement, which threatened to stretch the ties of community past the breaking point, instead motivated an intensification of collective relations. In her work on Huguenot exiles, Carolyn Lougee Chappell notes, for instance, that overseas Huguenot settlements and families were much more tightly knit than their sister communities in mainland France.[5] The spread of the Portuguese Nation across the Atlantic likewise placed a premium on multiplying and strengthening the relations between members. For the New Christians and Marranos of the Nation these efforts—often channeled through Catholic rituals and institutions—were layered upon pre-existing forms of kin-based solidarities and practices and were characterized both by a combination of Catholic ritual and institutions that followed the forced conversions of 1497 and by the maintenance of the memory and practice of Judaism within the private sphere of the home.[6] The dense knit of collective practices, mutual implication, and kin and community inter-relationships provided a bundle of social resources, or relational goods, that underwrote the successful conduct of long-distance trade and finances. The networks of trade and finance created by the Nation and by other trading diasporas had an important impact on the overall development of the early Atlantic economy. They created new commercial and financial circuits, integrating previously unconnected markets and assuring the circulation of great flows of commodities, labor, and capital. Trading nations were simultaneously the products and creators of the Atlantic world.

To examine the interplay between culture and trade in the Nation through the lens of comparison is also an effort to reframe a long and heavily freighted discussion about the relationship between religious culture and economic development in general and that between Judaism and capitalism more particularly.[7] In the early seventeenth century, the Portuguese Nation became the target of an anti-Semitic campaign that mixed medieval views with some strikingly modern rhetoric. Disseminated in pamphlets, plays, poetry, and public processions, this discourse charged the Nation with internationalism, materialism, atheism, and a consequent disregard for political and religious loyalties.[8] These transgressions were construed as inherently Jewish, and transmissible, even over multiple generations, through blood inheritance. In his *Centinela contra judios,* Francisco de Torrejoncillo argued that, even at twenty-one degrees of consanguinity, having a Jewish ancestor was enough to predispose individuals to acts of cunning, lust for wealth, and arrogance.[9] These were the attributes that led the Nation to "rob this Kingdom in order to enrich its enemies, with all the clear and immense prejudices this inflicts upon the mystical body of this Republic [Spain]."[10] The racialization of Jewish commercial activity would subsequently come to form a key rhetorical piece in nineteenth- (Marx) and early twentieth-century (Sombart) interpretations of capitalist development.[11]

While it is hard to imagine serious scholarship maintaining these lines of argument, there remains a latent form of cultural essentialism in many contemporary, and influential, works of economic history.[12] In these accounts the culture of a given community or society is presented as a given variable that either encouraged (Protestants or Jews) or impeded (Catholics, Muslims, Chinese) "modern" capitalistic activity. Beyond the basically essentialist and static view of culture implied, such interpretations focus attention on what is unique about a community—its identity—and associate this identity with specific historical trajectories. The comparative approach helps provide a check against this kind of interpretative drift. It shows how a range of trading diasporas—each very different from the other in its religious and cultural identities—drew from a common experience of dispersion and movement comparable forms of sociability that subsequently fed into analogous forms of commercial activity. Concretely, this essay examines the connections between social culture and economic activity in trade diasporas by moving from the practices and forms of daily domestic life, to the conduct of community relations, to the organization of its networks of trade. Though its centerpiece is the Portuguese Nation, the discussion regularly branches out to touch upon the other major trading nations of the early modern Atlantic: the Huguenots, the Basques, and the Genoese.

Studies of trade diasporas highlight the importance of the social ties and exchanges that linked members of the same family, home community, ethnicity, nation, or religion. This economy of affect corresponded closely—though never completely, a crucial nuance explored below—with the core trading partnerships contracted by a given merchant. Basque merchants traded with *paisanos*—kin, and country folk from a same village or locale.[13] Huguenot merchants traded predominantly with fellow Huguenots.[14] Merchants of the Portuguese *Nação* organized their trade in a set of nested groups: among members of a house, first, then among *paisanos,* and finally among other members of the Nation. As economic historians and historians of merchant groups have amply demonstrated, informal mechanisms such as reputation and trust assured probity in the absence of institutional sanctions against contract-breaking.[15] These qualities sprang from the sense of common identity and the intense interactions that prevailed among kinfolk, coreligionists, or members of a same community.

Intuitively, we understand that kinfolk and community members are less likely to cheat one another and that close-knit communities can easily organize the chains of gossip and information flows that can create and destroy personal reputations.[16] But to say that family and community provided the social underpinnings of commercial activity only raises new questions: What were the contours of kinship and community within the merchant nations of the Atlantic? What conditioned their structures and the day-to-day practices that animated them?[17]

In general they were the kinds of family and community that developed in movement. Flight, exile, and movement were all foundational experiences for the Portuguese Jews and New Christians, the Basques, the Huguenots, and other maritime trading communities besides. The families that made up these communities shared the experience of leaving their homes, of transporting themselves, of working the maritime trades. From the sixteenth century Basques migrated across the Atlantic because of a conjunction of economic duress and the economic opportunities opened up by earlier migrants to places like New Spain or Peru.[18] The Huguenots left for the lands of the "*refuge*" in two great waves composed, in large part, by small groups separated from the body of their families. Finding one another in exile, or recombining with other Huguenot refugees, these migrants created a community that, by the early eighteenth century, numbered between 150,000 and 250,000 members.[19] The *Nação* was created by the hundreds of families and individuals who, from the mid-sixteenth century onward, left Portugal every year for reasons of religious persecution, agrarian crisis, or economic opportunity.[20] Futhermore, as Daniel Swetschinski noted in his work on the Portuguese Jewish community of Amsterdam, once dispersed and in motion diasporic communities tended to encourage further movement among its members. The reasons are not rooted in some cultural (or, as Sombart argued, racial) predilection for nomadism but rather in the simpler factors of information flows and migration chains. Given the geographic spread of the communities of the Nation, more news of possible opportunities flowed in from a greater range of locales. Once the occasions had presented themselves, either by word of mouth or by correspondence, Portuguese ships and networks of Portuguese passers, smugglers, and kin allowed emigrants to pursue them.[21]

Most of the emigrants who left Portugal were single males who worked for wages. They circulated through the Atlantic aboard Portuguese ships —often working for their passage—and sojourned in the inns and hospices organized by Portuguese expatriate communities. That is, their displacements were not so much guided by the tight links of kinship as by the more extensive ties of common belonging that defined the *Nação*. We will return to these forms of community building further along in the discussion, but here the experience of Portuguese mariners, artisans, and workers helps contrast with that of the merchants of the *Nação,* in whose peregrinations kinship played a much more immediate role.

Merchants were profoundly marked by the experiences of travel and displacement, and that from a very early age. For Blas de la Peña, his transatlantic life course began in his mother's womb as she made the crossing from Seville to Veracruz, New Spain, in 1596.[22] His mother, Isabel Rodríguez, did not travel alone. She was accompanied by her husband, a sister, her two other children, and a servant. The family was expected in Mexico City by associates of her husband and was offered accommodation by other partners in Cadiz, Veracruz, and Havana.[23] Merchants, unlike other Portuguese migrants, benefited from resources, both material and social, that allowed them to migrate as a family and migrate frequently, and they did so—repeatedly. Evidence of Portuguese parents changing houses with their brothers and sisters, children, and servants up to five and six times over the course of their lives is far from uncommon.

An individual Portuguese merchant began his career by leaving his parents' house, usually at a very early age. Manuel Bautista Perez, for instance, moved into the Lisbon house of his uncle when he was five.[24] This was a common practice, not only within the Nation but also, it seems, among trading diasporas more generally. Bordeaux merchants, for instance, sent small boys of between five and seven to live with their grandparents or uncles so that they might begin their education. Abraham

Gradis, one of the leading *armateurs* of port in the eighteenth century, was sent from France to Holland and then on to London. Before taking their place among the merchants of their house, young *bordelais* merchants undertook a long tour of Europe's marketplaces. From Bordeaux they went through England—particularly its country markets—before crossing over to Holland, then Germany, Vienna, Geneva, and Italy.[25] In a specific case, Bautista Perez was orphaned while living with his uncle in Lisbon and served the full term of his apprenticeship with the same man. Then, in his twenties, he was sent to the port of Cacheu on the Guinea coast. There he served as factor for a year and then as a supercargo, traveling with slave ships that sailed between the African factories, Cartagena de Indias, and Lisbon.[26] Other young merchants of the *Nação* would trace different itineraries, but they all followed through similar cycles of displacement and repose. When they were not aboard ship, they lodged temporarily in hospices or with relatives before setting off again on the next leg of their circuit. This fully transient phase of their life lasted until they were married, that is, for a decade or more of their lives.

Movement was thus an inextricable part of the lives of merchants of the Atlantic diasporas. But even as it was woven into the education of minors and the conduct of the family business, movement constantly threatened the integrity of families and of houses (the conjunct of allied families who jointly ran a commercial operation) that made up an overseas trading community. In response, the creation, cultivation, and extension of relations were all given a central place in daily life. The building blocks for these collective strategies, the core families made up of parents and their children, were notably smaller than the Euro-Atlantic average for the period—a fact that is all the more surprising when one considers the importance of extensive kin groups in keeping diasporas together. Portuguese, Basque, Jewish, and Huguenot merchant families tended to have few children: one or two on average with few having more than three.[27] Small families may have encouraged regrouping among families. These were not nuclear families in the strict sense of the term. They shared the same roof with a number of adult relatives and even with other families. Manuel Bautista's residence in Lima housed Guiomar, his wife, their three children, his sister-in-law Isabel, her husband, Sebastian Duarte, other in-laws, and five (!) cousins—fourteen individuals in all.[28] The number might seem exceptional but it conformed to a pattern.[29] Across the Atlantic other houses of the Portuguese *Nação* were similarly composed of multiple nuclear families, usually organized around a pair of sisters or brothers. And that a household should provide berth to traveling family members, either single men or refugee families, of course went without saying.

Kin gathered up in these households for the simple reasons of mutuality. For merchants in transit or for new arrivals it was a chance to renew with the comfort of familiar faces. For their hosts they provided an infusion of the kind of news and stories about distant family members that could not be carried in letters. And because these were merchants, this mutuality also had a commercial aspect. The arrival of supercargoes and associates allowed merchants to take stock of their enterprise, square up their accounting, and plan new ventures. Whatever the reason, the result was that the intimate relations of day-to-day life transpired among a broad band of people. Bautista Perez's house was divided into small apartments for the two families with children and smaller sleeping quarters that were shared by two or more men.[30] In the Cadiz house of the consul of the French nation, room was found for his immediate family and ten other traders.[31] Along with cohabitation came commensality as, twice a day, the various members of the household came together around the meal table. Sharing meals was a time for sociability but it was also an obligation. In Bordeaux, the Huguenot merchant Antoine Magenac complained that his associate no longer cared to share "bowl, hearth, and table" (*au même pot, feu, table*) with the rest of the house. Symptomatic of larger fissures in the relationship, the slight grew into rupture and the eventual dissolution of the partnership.[32] In more harmonious circumstances the common table tended to attract individuals rather than lose them. Regularly joining the family members were guests, friends, associates, and neighbors who gathered around what were by all accounts richly appointed tables.

These households, which agglutinated different families and their more mobile members under the same roof, stood apart from the more standard patterns of nuclear or even stem family households that prevailed in western Europe in early modern times. The extension and intensification of bonds between members was carried outside the intimate sphere of the physical household. Multiple families living under the same roof meant that the household, taken as a whole, was connected to an equal number of families living in other residences around the Atlantic basin and beyond. It was the constellation of these residences that made up a given merchant "house" or firm. The affiliated households that composed Bautista Perez's house, which worked the Indies trades, were settled in Lima, Porto Belo, Cartagena de Indias, Buenos Aires, Seville, and Lisbon. The members of the Dias Henriques's house, with its sugar and banking interests, resided in Antwerp, Amsterdam, Bahia, Hamburg, Lisbon, Mexico, Naples, Oporto, Pernambuco, Rome, and Venice.[33] The house of Silveira, involved in the Asian and African trades as well as in imperial finances, included individuals living in Cartagena de Indias, Guinea, Lisbon, Madrid, Goa, Malacca, Macao, and Nagasaki.[34] The house of Soares d'Orta, active in the wool and textile trades in northern Europe, had members stationed in Rotterdam, Antwerp, Paris, Rouen, Bayonne, Lisbon, Madrid, and Seville.[35]

To create these linkages, merchants of the trading diasporas recurred to the well-known, and well-worn, institutions of marriage and, in Christian contexts, godparentage. Marriage alliances brought families together into households, households together into commercial houses, and these houses together in the larger diasporic trading communities or "supranational towns" of the Atlantic.[36] To deepen the bonds between allied families or to increase the size of their familial networks, marriages were generally organized along endogamic lines. But if endogamy was the general pattern among the Atlantic trade diasporas, the criteria influencing marriage choice bear some closer examination because they reveal much about how membership was conceived. Perceptions of who was a suitable marriage partner changed from trading nation to trading nation; within a given nation they could change from setting to setting.

Among Huguenot merchants, endogamy was framed in terms of social position (preference being given to alliances that permitted social or commercial advancement), of denomination (fellow members of the French churches abroad or of Protestant congregations in France), and of a shared identity as exiles.[37] Among the Basques, religion was not a meaningful criterion for endogamy given that both the Basques and the societies where they settled, the Castilian Indies, were Catholic. Instead, the Basques emphasized locale, preferring to marry within families of the same home village or their immediate surroundings.[38] The evidence on marriage choice for the Portuguese Nation reveals a more complex set of inter-related criteria. Overall, endogamy was keyed to a "national" register and, within that larger basin of potential Portuguese spouses there was an expressed preference for paisanos, or people of the same home region.[39] Religious culture does not appear to have been an important factor for the Portuguese communities in Iberian lands, as witnessed by the high rates of marriage between spouses from New Christian and Old Christian families.[40] In Amsterdam and other societies where public Judaism could emerge, however, religion was central to the definition of membership and thus had a determining weight on marriage choice.[41]

While endogamy, variously defined, was an important objective for the members of the trading nations, imbalanced gender ratios and the assimilative draw of local society made it a hard one to pursue. In England, the demarcation between Huguenot communities and local society became blurred over time. This was in part the product of a general cultural assimilation in which Huguenots, especially those from the lower ranks of the Refuge, joined Anglican churches, took up English, and found their wages among English employers. The Anglican Church apparently encouraged this kind of assimilation, arranging for clandestine weddings between Huguenots and Anglicans within their chapels. For all these reasons, Cottret argues that Huguenot communities in England were incapable of demographically reproducing themselves and would have melted into English society if it had not been for the regular arrivals of new refugees from France.[42] These newcomers recharged, as it were, the marriage market for Huguenots, making it easier for them to marry within the French Church. Most of the communities of the Portuguese Nation were likewise dependant on the arrival of members from afar to buttress endogamic marriage strategies—the exceptions were the Jewish Portuguese communities of northern Europe. The issue here was that of gender ratio, which was, in turn, possibly related to the recent establishment of these communities. In the early, expansionary phases most of the migrants arriving to form a given community came for wages and work, most of them were young men, and thus most arrived without their families.[43] With Portuguese men outnumbering women by a factor of ten to one, finding a Portuguese bride in the communities of the Nation posed something of a challenge.[44]

The seventeenth-century correspondence of the merchants of the Nation was filled with the trials associated with locating and securing suitable matches. Manuel Bautista Perez's uncle, Diego Rodriguez, thought he had found a suitable match for his daughter among the bachelors of Lisbon's merchant houses. But the young woman rejected her father's proposal. Now, he sighed, "I will probably have to journey to Seville soon to help her find a husband."[45] In 1630, Duarte Rodríguez de León, stationed in Cartagena de Indias, wrote to his brother Sebastián in Lima concerning the betrothal of their sister Guiomar López, who was then living in Seville. "We should be careful," he wrote, "or she will become a nun." Again, the local complement of possible suitors failed to render a candidate that Guiomar (the woman choosing between suitors) thought worthy of her attentions, let alone her hand. And so another correspondence was opened up, this one with a relative in Naples, who was charged with persuading a certain João, "very well established and reputable," to make the trip to Seville to court their sister. At the same time a third brother, Pedro Duarte, was dispatched "to find the son of Ana López Antonio, and to bring him bring him here [Cartagena de Indias] so that I might accompany him to Seville where she can meet him."[46] Were Guiomar's exacting standards—capable of mobilizing Portuguese men from the Indies to Naples—supported by the relative lack of marriageable women within the diaspora? What seems clearer is that where a premium on endogamy existed, and where gender ratios were heavily unbalanced, the community mobilized to facilitate the marriage of its women. In the particular case of orphaned girls, both institutional and informal funds were collected to assure their dowries.[47] When marriages were—finally—contracted between members of the Nation, the relief was palpable. "I am very happy," wrote Duarte Rodríguez León to Sebastian Duarte, "to see that you were able to marry a woman from Portuguese Spain [Ysabel Enriquez]. With such a woman, a man can go far indeed."[48]

Marriage was not the only way of creating or thickening the bonds among families and within a diaspora. In Christian settings godparentage—at baptism and at weddings—added an entire layer of more informal connections, often between less closely linked individuals such as associates, friends, or patrons. Given that godparentage was a symbolic form of kinship, there was more flexibility in its deployment. Godfathers and godmothers were selected from within the community, that is certain, but godparentage could also serve as a symbolic bridging tie to outsiders.

Bautista Perez, for instance, was asked by Juan de la Cueva, the famous Basque banker of Lima, to act as godfather to his child.[49] These are, however, anecdotal pieces of evidence. Little attention has been paid to the institution of godparentage in the trading diasporas, so we don't know, in the aggregate, the degree to which godparentage bonds were forged inside or outside a given community. Another informal practice was that of sending young boys to be educated by their uncles or grandparents—a form of intrafamilial adoption—suggests a customary way of forming crosshatched connections between different families. Raised in this manner, young men had two or more "fathers." In his correspondence, Bautista Perez referred to his uncle in such terms. He had, of course, been orphaned, but other Portuguese merchants adopted these formulas as well.[50]

Multifamily dwellings, extensive cohabitation, endogamy, and godparentage were some of the main ways that merchants in diaspora succeeded in maintaining their collective integrity in the face of mobility and dispersion. These social links and practices helped form and maintain the sinews of the community. Nevertheless, the Portuguese, Basque, Huguenot, and other trading nations were composed of many individuals of different social classes. To catch the manner in which they were brought into the community requires a move beyond the households to the larger spaces in which members of a given nation gathered. Detached from their home, but not fully members of their host society, the refugees, migrants and merchants that made up the trading nations of the Atlantic shared the in-between space of exile. In his classic discussion of the culture and sociability of pilgrimages, Victor Turner drew attention to the manner in which this kind of liminality encouraged the deepening of bonds (*communitas*) between fellow pilgrims.[51] Arguably, similar processes were at work among the different expatriate quarters that made up a trading diaspora. These settlements symbolically, institutionally, and physically marked off their "home" space. These spaces and boundaries were extended to encompass the many poorer, often single, members of the community. Without them, individual migrants would have assimilated into the local societies where they settled.

The division of urban space along national or ethnic lines was a common and long-standing pattern in market cities and ports.[52] The Huguenots of London gathered up in the eastern wards and liberties of the city, especially that of Bishopsgate.[53] The great mining cities of the Castilian Indies, Potosí, Zacatecas, and Guanajuato, all had their Basque quarter. Amsterdam's Portuguese Jewish community settled in around *Sint-Antonisbreestraa* (Saint-Anthony's Broad Street). Manuel Bautista Perez's Lima residence, two blocks off the Plaza Mayor, was situated in the heart of the city's *barrio portugués*, or Portuguese quarter. It occupied a handful of blocks along Lima's high street, the Calle de los Mercaderes, which, the Inquisition of Lima complained, "is almost entirely in their [the Portuguese] possession, while its side alleys are completely theirs. They boil everywhere around this district selling their wares."[54] In Mexico City, members of the Nation congregated in three blocks immediately behind the cathedral and the Plaza Mayor. This put them at the very heart of the city, less than a block away from the stalls and shops of the city's primary market space.[55] A similar pattern existed in the mining city of Potosí, where the Portuguese community was large enough to claim both a street, Calle de los Lusitanos, and an entire neighborhood, El barrio portugués, in their name. The latter was strategically placed in the parish of San Pedro, a collection of steep cobbled streets nestled between the markets of the central plaza and the mills and mine entrances flanking the Cerro Rico.[56] In Seville, as in Lima and Mexico City, the evidence shows the Portuguese ringing the marketplace and the Arenal, the sand flats that formed the city's docklands. Along certain streets in these neighborhoods, notes the Spanish historian Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, passersby were more likely to hear Portuguese than Castilian.[57]

The *barrios portuguéses* of Mexico City, Seville, or Lima maintained institutions that drew migrants together as a larger Portuguese collectivity. They fostered a sense of belonging that drew in individuals from the full swath of migrant society. This process worked on a variety of levels: symbolic, institutional, and social. Like other diasporic communities, the Portuguese Nation maintained symbols of collective affiliation that simultaneously identified the community in the eyes of outsiders and allowed members to come together under their arch. As Stuart Hall put it, these symbols lent "an imaginary coherence to the experience of dispersal and fragmentation" and, one might add, to the divisions of wealth and class.[58] A key figure in this regard was Santo Antonio, arguably the leading Portuguese saint of this period. Attacks against enemies—the Dutch, especially, in the Atlantic world—were unleashed on June 13, the feast day of Santo Antonio.[59] On the other hand, those Portuguese living under Dutch rule in Brazil referred to Prince Johan Mauritz as "our Santo Antonio" because of his benevolent patronage of their community.[60] Less ambiguous was the appearance, across the breadth of the Atlantic, of Portuguese chapels and hospitals bearing the name of their patron saint. In Seville, the chapel of San Antonio de los Portugueses was housed in the Casa Grande de San Francisco, a few steps from the cathedral and the Portuguese neighborhoods that surrounded the city's center.[61] The chapel symbolically marked the settlement of the Portuguese Nation in the city, much like the Church of San Jorge (Saint George) marked the presence of the English nation or the Church of San Luis (Saint Louis) did for the French nation.[62] The Basque merchants and mine owners of Guanajuato and the other mining centers of northern New Spain collectively funded the construction of chapels to their patroness, the Virgin of Aranzazu. Portuguese Jews of Amsterdam, of course, built no chapels, but their synagogues were equally powerful symbolic markers of their place in the city.

Beyond providing the physical locus for the recognition of a common, "national" symbol, synagogues and chapels opened spaces in which links could be established between individuals who did not have a more primary connection—such as kinship, common provenance, or class affiliation—to tie them together. The chapel of Santo Antonio in Seville, for instance, was the home of the Portuguese confraternity of the same name. It cared for the spiritual welfare of the community: the organization of burials and masses for deceased Portuguese immigrants and participation in the Holy Week processions—another means of publicly announcing the Portuguese presence in the city. Like other religious brotherhoods, the confraternity of San Antonio brought together Portuguese men of different social backgrounds during weekly meetings.[63] The physical needs of the poorest members of the Portuguese communities were cared for in similarly collective ways. Hospices, such as that of San Antonio de los Portugueses, which was built in Madrid 1615, took in the destitute and the sick.[64] Smaller émigré communities lacked the resources to build and run an entire hospital for their own exclusive use, but compromise solutions were soon found. Jorge Fernandez Gramaxo, in association with other Portuguese merchants, put up the funds needed to establish the Franciscan convent of San Diego in Cartagena.[65] Although the convent was run by the Franciscan order, the Portuguese appear to have reserved certain key spaces for their use. The Portuguese doctor Blas de Paz Pinto regularly worked there, and the convent appears to have housed the confraternity of San Antonio, a smaller cousin to the confraternity of the same name in Seville.[66] Chapels, finally, were spaces of community-level politics. In Seville, for instance, tensions brewed over the Spanish crown's insistence on nominating the consuls of the foreign nations in the city. Members of the English nation, however, were determined to maintain their right to elect their representative, an election that was organized by the confraternity of San Jorge.[67]

The importance of the institutions of local religion to the collective life of the nations is equally well illustrated by the French churches established across the communities of the Huguenot diaspora. By the early eighteenth century there were French churches in New York, Rhode Island, Holland, and other Protestant states. Inside France itself, embassy churches—yet another version of extraterritorial space—accommodated local Huguenots and were critical to the survival of French Protestantism.[68] Interestingly, the first French churches were not originally created by refugees but rather as the institutional cornerstone of communities of merchants and travelers. London's first French church, for example, was founded in 1550 by French Protestant merchants, well before the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre or the Revocation.[69] When thousands of Huguenots eventually fled from religious persecution, this French church, and its sister churches in other states, was critical to settling the refugees into the local community. As in the chapels, the French churches functioned as agencies of community charity. The "*bourse des pauvres,*" or poor chest, not only gathered and redistributed funds among the exiles but also tendered credit and organized the circulation of warm garments in the winter season. Receiving the church's charity laid an informal obligation on recipients to marry within the church, thus providing institutional support to more informal patterns of Huguenot endogamy. The relationship between being a member of the Huguenot community and being a member of the church worked in other directions as well. Contributing to the poor chest—a contribution that was semipublic in nature—was a customary way of symbolically marking membership.[70] Finally, the churches played host to a peculiar ritual of incorporation into the exile community: the *reconnaissance,* or recognition. The reconnaissance was a public testimonial new arrivals delivered before members of the congregation about their flight from France. If they had abjured, the reconnaissance also became an occasion for public contrition and a plea for forgiveness. Whether begun as simple testimonial or as repentance, the ceremony moved toward the congregation's recognition and acceptance of the petitioner. This performance, Chappell argues, was a key moment in forging the community of exiles.[71]

More private and more personal practices of incorporation developed among the Marranos of the Portuguese Nation. In the early seventeenth century, with the rebirth of public Judaism in Amsterdam, members of the Nation were invited by their fellows to observe the Law of Moses. This invitation was extended to kinsfolk and trusted associates after a number of conversations about what a full return to Judaism entailed and offered. If taken up, the initiate was admitted to a small meeting of practicing Jews, often led by women, where they were instructed in Jewish teachings, rituals, and prayers.[72] The twinned acts of invitation and initiation appear regularly, almost formulaically, in many of the Inquisition trials of Portuguese New Christians and Marranos. They can be read in a number of ways. From a religious perspective they seem conditioned by the exigencies of secrecy and the imperative of trust between those who kept Judaism alive despite the threat posed by the Inquisition. The need to reach out to and gather up neophytes may be further interpreted as the desire of observant Marranos to constitute a minyan, the minimum number of Jews required to conduct communal ceremonies. From a more sociological perspective, the invitation to observance might have been a manner of deepening the degree of mutual implication between individuals. Clearly the bonds between those who followed the Law of Moses in Catholic lands were extremely strong, and they stretched beyond the local groups of Marranos within the communities of the Nation. Adhering to the Law in places like Mexico City or Lima allowed the links of identification to be made with other communities of the Nation established in cities where Judaism was an open and a vital religion. Religious identification, it is true, could also sow the seeds of dissension within the Portuguese diaspora. In Rouen, for instance, observers noted that the Portuguese community there had split into two competing factions, the "Jews" and the "Catholics," which intrigued against each other through French officials and Spanish spies.[73] More tightly focused studies of the constituent communities of the Nation might help establish whether the Rouen situation was typical or not. Here it is simply worth noting that it was possible.

A useful point of departure in describing the relationship between social practices and the conduct of long-distance trade in merchant diasporas is to begin with the nature of a merchant's estate. The traders and financiers of the Portuguese Nation ranked among the wealthiest individuals in the Spanish empire. Those who occupied the highest echelons of the group controlled assets totaling hundreds of thousands of pesos. And yet, they had little patrimony in the traditional sense of the word: a stable estate that could be transferred as a unit to successors. The Lima tribunals of the Inquisition discovered this when they attempted to freeze the assets of dozens of members of the Portuguese Nation. The capital they eventually obtained after many years of tracing out the flow and counter-flow of loans and obligation within the community was a small percentage of what they had claimed.[74] Commercial wealth was wealth in circulation. In the noninstitutionalized market environment of the early modern Atlantic, it was the kind of wealth that coursed through the social relations that structured different trade diasporas.

The previous section sketched out some of the ways in which the ties between members of different trading nations were extended, multiplied, and tightened. That these practices were roughly comparable between different merchant diasporas is a key point because it pushes against hasty associations between culture and economic activity. The Huguenots, for instance, had been described as harbingers of a more modern form of capitalism because of the equation between Protestantism and rational, individual action. Cottret, in his discussion of the Huguenots of England, pointed out the double fallacy of this argument. First, Huguenot institutions and forms of sociability could hardly be described as individualistic. If anything, the communities of the Refuge tended toward the other end of the spectrum: members observed one another intensely and forms of group "disciplining" were prevalent. Second, it is far from proven that possessive individualism was the cultural key to success in the conduct of trade and finances during this period.[75] The organization of long-distance circuits that linked up markets across the Atlantic economy; the control of certain markets and niches; the generation, gathering, and movement of capital—all these activities depended on a high degree of collaboration and coordination between many dozens of merchants. Social connections and mutual implication formed the relational goods that allowed this kind of economic activity to advance.

The inheritance practices of the trading nations reveal how such connections formed the girders of commercial fortune. In one of the few intergenerational studies of a merchant group, the da Silva house of Portuguese Jewish merchants and bankers, José Raposo repeatedly draws attention to how merchants transferred their business contacts to successors. Interestingly, these transfers involved the merchant's nephew, rather than his son—a form of cross-transmission between families that ran alongside more standard forms of filial inheritance.[76] This is not entirely surprising given the customary apprenticeship of nephews with uncles. The succession of nephews to the head of a merchant house was a common practice among Basques and Huguenots, as well.[77] The transferability of pre-existing commercial relations was not just a manner of assuring the house's fortune across the generations; it could also serve to extend the house's range of operation and, in times of crisis, allowed merchant families to resettle and quicken their operations in new markets.[78]

Long-standing commercial and kinship relations between merchant houses were critical to the generation of reputation and trust, both central pieces in the conduct of overseas trade. A merchant's reputation was, according to John Stuart Mill, his most precious asset because it determined the willingness of other merchants to transact business with him.[79] It was created relationally through flows of gossip that coursed through commercial letters, marketplace conversations, and the myriad other points of encounter between merchants of a given community. Given the simultaneously tight-knit and extensive nature of the Atlantic trade diasporas, reputations could be built up and undermined from one shore of the ocean to another.[80] Juan Rodríguez Mesa, a prominent merchant of the Portuguese Nation in Cartagena de Indias, drew complaints about his dealings with fellow Portuguese traders. News traveled fast, and as it did it came to darken the reputation of other members of his house. His Lisbon-based brother, Andres Rodríguez de Extremoz, noted that all those who arrived from the Indies were spreading word of his misdealings and that soon his own reputation would be tarnished to the point that he could no longer walk across Lisbon's *praça*.[81] Conversely, the strength of a senior merchant's reputation could be effectively transferred to cover his junior associates. Even before Luis Fernández Suarez arrived in Cartagena as a young merchant sent to revive his house's operations there, the correspondence of the Nation buzzed with the news that the nephew of Antonio Nuñez Gramaxo, an important wholesaler in Seville, was soon to arrive. "I have heard," wrote Blas de Paz Pinto, "that he is a capable person of great merit, in sum: the true disciple of Nuñez Gramaxo. I believe that he will get along with everyone here because it is in his nature: may God guide his path."[82]

Perhaps the most direct way to describe the relationship between social relations and commercial activity is to test the patterns of a merchant's trade with the contours of his relations with kinfolk, fellow members of his community, and outsiders. There is, on this score, quite a depth of anecdotal evidence for trade among intimates. All the same a more systematic examination reveals some important nuances, especially in what concerns the place and role of outsiders. There exist remarkably rich sources of commercial information—letters, account books, commercial papers—on the activities of the Portuguese Nation in the archives of various tribunals of the Inquisition. Here I have tabulated close to six hundred recorded transaction involving Juan Rodríguez Mesa over a twelve-year period (1624–36). Of these, over half were contracted with other Portuguese merchants, and their combined value represented close to 90 percent (816,026) of the total (909,291 pesos). Seen in the aggregate, these figures make a strong case for a close overlap between social and commercial networks. All the same, as the focus is tightened to follow the number of transactions per individual, a slightly different picture emerges. Frequency of dealings is an important measure because it reveals who figured most prominently in a given merchant's commercial network—information that can then be compared to the social characteristics of these individuals. The table shows, unsurprisingly, that the individuals with whom Rodríguez Mesa had the most transactions were his brothers. The next ring of commercial associates was also composed of other Portuguese kin—a cousin and an uncle—but it also included a Portuguese merchant who was not kin and two outsiders, David Ventura and Andres Blanquesel, a naturalized Flemish merchant settled in Cartagena de Indias. Portuguese individuals dominated the outer ring, though few of them were either kinfolk, or *paisanos*. These records suggest that commercial proximity generally correlated to a nested set of affective ties; at the core of Rodríguez Mesa's operation were individuals who were at once kin, paisanos, and fellow members of the Nation.

The position of two outsiders near the center of the Portuguese merchant's commercial network raises a final issue about the trading nations of the Atlantic: their inter-relationship. While comparisons across the diasporas are useful for showing up points of commonality and divergence, these communities were active in the same periods and often in the same geographic and economic sectors of the Atlantic. The tendency of nations to control a given circuit or commercial institution often led them into conflict with competitors. In the eighteenth century the Basques and the merchants of Cantabria—known as *montañeses*—waged a protracted struggle over the control of the *consulado* (traders' guild) of Mexico City. The divisions that led to one of the most important urban riots in colonial Peru were drawn along national lines, as members of the Basque nation collided with the Extremadurans (and their Portuguese allies) in the streets of Potosí.[83] Inter-"national" competition, of course, did not necessarily have to break out into physical violence for the stakes to remain high. The bankers of the Portuguese Nation, for instance, were deliberately invited to participate in the *asientos* of the Spanish crown as a means of breaking the long-standing monopoly the Genoese nation had exerted over this extremely lucrative business.[84] This was, in effect, a carrying over of a long-standing rivalry between Portuguese and Genoese traders from the Atlantic trades into the higher spheres of royal finances.

It was, however, the alliances and collaborations between different trading nations that had the more profound impact on the organization and development of trade in the Atlantic economy. Cooperation between merchants of different nations allowed their respective commercial networks to overlap and feed into one another. This was important because the scope and complexity of the Atlantic economy quickly exceeded the capacity of a single trading network to occupy all the points linking producers and consumers. The Portuguese Nation, for example, was remarkable for its scope—it could move French linens from Rouen, through Lisbon or Seville, then across to Cartagena, Lima, and up to the highland Peruvian town of Arequipa; always staying within the Nation at every step. But even this network had its edges and limits. In Rouen, Portuguese merchants obtained the cloths from French associates who had

TABLE 5.1 Transactions of the Portuguese Nation in Cartagena de Indias, 1624–1636

Transactions per individual	*Total no. of transactions*	*% of total transactions*	*No. of individuals*	*% kin*	*% region*	*% Portuguese*
21+	108	18	2	100	100	100
9–20	57	10	5	40	40	60
3–8	90	15	22	13.6	13.6	86
1–2	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	595	100	240	6	8	56

SOURCE: Archivo Historico Nacional, Inquisición, leg. 1610, exp. 7.

direct relations with local weavers. In Arequipa some of the linen was passed to native Andean merchants and *kurakas,* who organized its sale among Andean consumers. Relays between commercial networks could be organized anywhere. In Seville, the Portuguese merchant Antonio Nuñez Gramaxo maintained long-term partnerships with German, Flemish, and English associates, some of which he had inherited from his uncle's previous career as a tobacco merchant to England and Holland.[85] It is in this light that the presence of Andrés Blanquesel as one of the key partners of Rodríguez Mesa—at a time of a steadily growing Dutch presence in the Lesser Antilles and the Guianos—seems most suggestive.

Merchants from other trading diasporas similarly kept close and intimate ties with outsiders. Gabriel de Silva, the Portuguese Jewish banker of Bordeaux, maintained strong links to the local representatives of the Huguenot banking families of the period. Their association allowed de Silva access to the Huguenot connections within the continental currency markets and, in return, provided his Protestant partners with access to Brazilian and Spanish bullion smuggled through Bayonne by fellow Portuguese Jews and Gallego contrabandists—over five million livres tournois' worth in 1759.[86] More evidence, clearly, needs to be gathered on the patterns of collaboration between different trading nations. But even the anecdotal evidence suggests that the scale of this cooperation extended beyond the partnerships between two merchants of distinct networks. In 1622, for example, as the twelve-year truce between Spain and the Dutch Republic came to a close, the Portuguese merchants of Viana and Oporto, as a group, maintained the commercial affairs of their Dutch partners, even though, as a Dutch memorialist observed, "all our ships and goods were in their name and under their control, [and] they could have—had they so desired—kept them for themselves and we were in no position to claim them back." Instead, he continued, "They made such a good record, proof, and account . . . [that] our ships earned as well as of the profits of our manufacturers, as if they had been our fathers' and had lived amongst us."[87]

Given the absence of aggregate statistics on trade or capital flows it is impossible to determine, in any firm and quantifiable way, the place the trading diasporas occupied, either singly or jointly, in the overall early modern Atlantic economy. The best that can be done is to describe their operations and their peculiar advantages in certain kinds of trading environments. The nations distinguished themselves in situations in which institutional oversight of trade was either impossible to organize or, as in the case of smuggling and contraband, undesirable. It was in these informal zones of market activity that the social organization, culture, and practices of the diasporas came to the fore. The net economic effects of what might be called a diasporic sociability could be quite impressive. The bankers of the Portuguese Nation gathered up millions of pesos a year from the dozens of affiliated merchant houses. Many of the requisite transactions, which could climb to the tens of thousands of pesos, were not only organized across the span of the Atlantic but were transacted without a formal contract. What need for contract when, in a very basic sense, this capital was moving inside the boundaries of house and community?

There remains, clearly, more work to be done to fill in both the microhistory of each trading nation and the broader, connected history of their interactions. Nevertheless, the history of families, of households, and of community relations in trade diasporas helps nuance the historiography on early modern economic development. That the relations of individuals around a common table could, for instance, contribute to the organization of large-scale and long-distance flows of wealth opens a view on the other sources of capitalist development that are often missed or neglected by historians who focus on the institutional evolution of the market. Moreover, since these kinds of social resources were shared by a number of trading diasporas, it is difficult to maintain theories of economic change that are predicated on a unique cultural makeup.

Sephardic Merchants in the Early Modern Atlantic and Beyond

Toward a Comparative Historical Approach to Business Cooperation

FRANCESCA TRIVELLATO

"A PERSON'S WORST ENEMIES are among one's own family and kin," wrote David Attias in 1778. As he insisted, "one should not trust one's mother, nor one's children, nor brothers, nor [other] relatives, nor anyone in the world."[1] David Attias was a Sephardic Jew born an Ottoman subject in Sarajevo who spent most of his life in the Tuscan port of Livorno and was the author of *La Guerta de Oro* (The Garden of Gold), the first book ever written and published in Ladino, the Judeo-Spanish vernacular language employed by Iberian Jews in the Ottoman Empire, that did not deal with a religious topic. The book's aim was to promote secular education among Ottoman Jewry and introduce them to the "rationality" of western European culture. As part of this endeavor, Attias exhorted his fellow coreligionists in the Middle East to expand their commercial alliances beyond the community's boundaries. Though not a systematic thinker, he put his finger on the two thorniest issues historians must grapple with when they seek to understand the sources of business cooperation: what exactly allowed for solidarity within a group (however defined), and what instruments permitted members of that group to extend their collaboration beyond their immediate circle of kin and friends.

Attias's cynicism runs contrary to prevailing assumptions among historians and anthropologists about the nature of trust within trading diasporas. However hyperbolic, his assertions, I contend, should not be dismissed by historians of Sephardic merchants in the early modern Atlantic. They force us to revisit the prevalent but problematic presumption that cooperation was an inherent feature of merchant communities and trading diasporas and to consider what really explains economic associations forged by coreligionists. Even though blood, ethnic, and religious ties have proven central historically to business organization inside and outside Europe, we have to wonder whether the infrequent mention of incompetent or fraudulent relatives in the historical and social scientific literature (as opposed to their occurrence in, say, novels and plays) is the result of their actual rarity or of received scholarly traditions.

Historians often presume rather than demonstrate that religion, ethnicity, and kinship provided the glue for cooperation in long-distance trade. Economists, on the other hand, are quick to conceive social ties as relevant only to small-scale commercial operations. Partha Dasgupta thus laments that "networks can be suffocating" because "communitarian institutions can prevent markets from functioning well"; and he therefore contrasts networks to impersonal markets.[2] Most sociologists, too, describe a transition from close-knit communities, in which face-to-face interaction sustains "personal trust," to complex societies, in which faceless commitments uphold confidence in abstract enforcements ("system-trust").[3] This portrait of modernity as the triumph of anonymity is the mirror image of romanticized views of allegedly harmonious merchant communities. The story is generally told in sequential and progressive terms; while there is disagreement about the chronology of this transition to modernity, the tendency is to depict it as a process from which everyone benefited equally.

This mode of thinking leaves us poorly equipped to analyze Sephardic merchants and other trading diasporas, which were often discriminated against in legal or social terms and which lacked their own state institutions, and yet they found creative ways of enhancing their activities in the highly competitive world of early modern long-distance commerce. Rather than pursuing conventional oppositions between personal trust and impersonal markets, I suggest that we consider the variety of resources, ranging from kinship ties and communitarian structures to legal contracts and courts, on which Sephardim and others drew to reduce the risks of trading with distant regions and distant partners. Here I am therefore concerned with synchronic comparisons more than with patterns of change over time. I am less interested in locating the origins of modern, more efficient, and often more militarized economic institutions than in rescuing trading diasporas from the parenthetical place to which they are often confined in the history of early modern European trade. By dissecting the strategies adopted by various trading diasporas in different contexts, we take seriously their multifaceted organizations.

This essay discusses both the informal and institutional means that trading diasporas used in their efforts to monitor aptitude and integrity in economic conduct within and across the community's borders. While I deal primarily with Atlantic Sephardic networks, I incorporate examples from other regions and other groups. I do so not to deprive social groups of their historical specificity but, on the contrary, to try to identify generalities and specificities.[4] If trust is not a natural attribute of trading diasporas, then we need to examine what accounts for the development of cooperative business relations in different cases. Where I am unable to provide definitive answers, I hope at least to contribute to the development of a research agenda that uses a comparative historical approach to the issue of trust in early modern long-distance trade.

Scholarship in English on translocal families and ethno-religious communities living in dispersal has been growing at a fast pace in recent years, and historians have eagerly contributed to this growth.[5] Born as a reaction against colonialist and nationalist histories, the historical literature on trading diasporas has questioned grand narratives about the economic superiority of the West and has emphasized the role of stateless merchant networks. It has thus offered a more sophisticated understanding of European commercial expansion and the cultural clashes and encounters that it generated during the early modern period. This surge of interest owes a great deal to a seminal book published by a historian of Africa, Philip Curtin, in 1984. Curtin incorporated the insights of anthropologist Abner Cohen, who defined a trading diaspora as a "moral community" that lives in dispersal but "ensures a large measure of conformity" among members who share values, languages, legal systems, and kinship ties.[6] In the examples Cohen uses from West Africa, a trading diaspora has no access to centralized legal institutions in order to uphold credit contracts.[7] Curtin analyzes a wide array of manifestations of this phenomenon spanning the globe from Antiquity to the rise of modern European colonialism in the late eighteenth century, including entities such as the European chartered companies in the Indian Ocean, which were backed up by sovereign political and legal institutions.[8] In contrast, most of Curtin's followers would not count such companies under the rubric of trading diasporas and would look instead at the social forces of reputation control.

Studies of Sephardim, Armenians, Huguenots, Quakers, Hindus, and other translocal merchant communities generally attribute their commercial success to their internal cohesion and natural solidarity.[9] When stressing the remarkable influence that a marginal group of traders or a small number of merchant families exerted in international commerce and finance, most scholars tend to invoke trust as a self-evident and self-explanatory concept. For John Bosher, "personal trust based on a common religion and carefully fostered relations of scattered families" boosted the flourishing of Huguenot business ventures in the Atlantic after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.[10] C. A. Bayly recently spoke of "communities of mercantile trust" in reference to the trading diasporas that helped create a more globally interdependent world before the nineteenth century.[11] And in an essay devoted to the Armenians in the Indian Ocean, Sushil Chaudhury claims that the fact "that the Armenians often acted as a group rather than as individual entrepreneurs is a result of the pride they took in their identity."[12] The equation of ethno-diasporic communities with trust gives the false impression that one (trust) was a byproduct of the other (community) and that how such trust emerged and worked needs no further elucidation. Moreover, this equation would require that members of a community (whose borders were often but not always clearly defined) be naturally prone to trust their coreligionists or ethnic kin, but not outsiders. If true, this limitation would seriously hamper the influence that trading diasporas exerted in regional and international trade and finance.

It is undeniable that religious allegiances and family connections played a fundamental role in forging business cooperation during the early modern period, including across the Atlantic. As Bosher writes, "merchants in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries tended to group themselves according to their family loyalties, religious affiliations and business interests."[13] It would, however, be exaggerated to conclude, with Stanley Chapman, that "in a period when communications were still slow and uncertain, family and religious ties offered the *only* permanent assurance of mutual understanding, trust and reliability."[14]

The essentialized equation of kinship and ethno-religious ties with trust and cooperative behavior in business risks dissolving all historical specificities, as a recent book by Russian historian Yuri Slezkine reveals. In *The Jewish Century*, Slezkine reassesses a link between Jews and modernity/modernization. In a bold opening paragraph, he affirms that "modernization . . . is about everyone becoming Jewish," by which he means everyone becoming "urban, mobile, literate, articulate, intellectually intricate, physically fastidious, and occupationally flexible."[15] Slezkine renders Jews representative of what he calls "service nomadism," a meta-historical category that he believes comprises all diasporic groups (not just Jews, but also Armenians, Parsis, Jains, Overseas Indians and Chinese, or Lebanese in Latin America and the Caribbean). "Service nomads," or, in Slezkine's figurative language, "Mercurians," are those who specialize in providing services to host agricultural or pastoral societies (called "Apollonians"). To explain what allowed Jews to become "quintessential, extraordinarily accomplished Mercurians," Slezkine cites several traits, including investments in education, but he stresses internal solidarity. With reference to late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Russia, he maintains that, "Like all Mercurians, the Jews owed their economic success to strangeness, specialized training, and the kind of *intragroup trust* that assured the relative reliability of business partners, loan clients, and subcontractors."[16]

A varied field of "diaspora studies" dominated by literary criticism and cultural studies has launched a potent attack against such essentialist representations of diasporic communities; it negates concepts of essence and purity, underscores cultural hybridity and the permeability of all boundaries, rejects universalism in favor of local and historical contexts of displacement, and exalts forms of power antithetical to the nation-state.[17] Whether directly or indirectly influenced by these trends, many social and cultural historians now take into serious consideration internal divisions in trading diasporas, address questions about syncretism in religious beliefs and practices, and are adamant about the cross-fertilization of multiple traditions. In the last two decades, numerous studies of Sephardic families and communities across early modern Europe, the Mediterranean, and the Atlantic have abandoned any residual notions of unity among the Jewish diaspora and instead stress how an overarching translocal identity coexisted with profound regional differences and striking cultural diversity. The class, ethnic, and religious conflicts with which the Jewish communities of seventeenth-century Amsterdam were rife have become emblematic.[18] As this volume illustrates, new ruptures based on social stratification, gender, loose notions of "ethnicity," normative conceptions of "race," religious practices, and political rights emerged within the Jewish world of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Atlantic. But if cultural and social historians have been receptive to pronouncements of "diaspora studies," how can economic historians integrate ideas about fragmentation into a coherent explanation of the performance of trading diasporas?

Rational choice theory has provided the most analytically persuasive (if not always historically accurate) answer to this question. By taking individual preferences and choices as the basis of its analysis, rational choice theory breaks away from any naturalized identification between collective identity and business cooperation. Oliver E. Williamson would rejoice at David Attais's admonitions, for they accord well with his warning that cynics populate the market. For Williamson, the term "trust" is "redundant at best," because the standard tools of neoclassical economics are sufficient to explain the motivations and workings of all exchanges, and we do better by replacing it with "calculativeness."[19] Williamson points to the contractual obligations and external safeguards on the basis of which individuals make their decisions about whether to behave cooperatively or not. In theory, this approach allows for threats and incentives against misconduct to be generated by formal institutions and legal systems no less than by social norms and personal interaction. But in practice, the new institutional economics generally stresses the role of state institutions in reducing uncertainty and enforcing property rights.[20] Economic historian Avner Greif has challenged what he perceives to be an excessive emphasis on the state in the new institutional economic history. His studies of medieval Mediterranean trade initially contested the identification of state institutions with the precondition for market expansion and acknowledged the influence of social organization in facilitating business cooperation. Eventually, however, he too is interested in demonstrating the greater efficiency that legal contracts and tribunals brought to long-distance trade.[21]

This evolutionary trajectory toward a more impersonal market backed by legitimate state institutions badly captures the ways in which Sephardic merchants and other trading diasporas operated in the early modern Atlantic and beyond. Sephardim and others relied on contracts and institutions that supported individual legal responsibility but also mobilized informal channels of social control and information exchange to oversee agents' reputation both within and across religious and ethnic borders. In order to reconstruct the adaptive strategies of Sephardic merchants, we might take stock of recent contributions from the social sciences that yoke social networks and economic rationality to explain how trust is generated and sustained.

The debate over trust spans disciplines and approaches. Many competitive definitions and theories have been put forth by philosophers, anthropologists, psychologists, and especially by sociologists and political scientists. Trust is conceived alternatively as the result of rational calculation, cognitive assessments, moral commitments, ethical imperatives, or psychological dispositions. It is studied as a theoretical problem, as well as tested in surveys and behavioral experiments.[22] Here I am concerned specifically with trust in economic transactions and, in particular, with the role of extralegal mechanisms of reputation control.[23]

As many have pointed out, trust begins where contracts end. Trust involves risks and expectations. In order to analyze risks and expectations, we need to examine how individuals and groups judged and screened someone's (whether a person, a group, or an institution) trustworthiness. Trustworthiness, in turn, is to be understood not as an intrinsic attribute but as the outcome of a process that involves credible promises (expectations of someone's trustworthiness should be more than a dream or a hope), reliable if partial information, and credible threats. Following Russell Hardin, trust involves a strategic and, indeed, calculative evaluation based on past conduct and the cognitive perception of whether the recipient of trust has any interest in delivering on promises made. This formulation assumes that human action is driven by the desire to maximize utility and minimize risks, but it does not imply a divorce between economic and social considerations because it acknowledges that rational decision making is bound not only by available information but also by perceptions and interests that are culturally and historically specific (and which can, therefore, include preconceptions and stereotypes). This formulation also de-essentializes the concept of trust because it does not require that the parties involved in the relationship share *all* the same interests. Trust, that is, can be a matter of degree.

One's trustworthiness derives from the opinion others have of one's reputation. Reputation builds on information about one's past conduct. Therefore, the denser the networks of information exchange, the greater their efficacy, especially when legal enforcements are weak. If we follow this logic rigorously, we have to concede that networks of information transmission count more than kin or ethno-religious affiliation. This reasoning should not lead us to elide the historical importance of family and community ties in the early modern period, but it permits us to avoid a circular logic and even expose enmities within clans and among coreligionists. Claude Markovits, for example, remarks on the rivalry among siblings as an antidote to essentialized notions of trust.[24] Ineptitude, if not opportunism, turned up in many family members. As David Hancock shows in his study of Scottish merchants in the eighteenth-century Atlantic, some faced the prospect that less than competent or even ill-intentioned sons might take over their business.[25] Recourse to nephews as candidates for succession in the family firm, which Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert detects among Portuguese New Christians, Basques, and Huguenots in his essay in this volume, was likely a response to this problem. If we admit that they exist, cases of failure of trust among coreligionists are not difficult to identify in the documents. In my work on the Sephardim of Livorno, I have uncovered cases of malfeasance among close relatives as well as cases in which all economic incentives to cooperate among coreligionists slowly crumbled. In most instances, actors found little or no compensation in court.[26]

Any conception of trust must indeed admit the possibility (if not the propensity) of opportunistic misbehavior and specify what factors deter it. Rather than moving from the presumption that coreligionists cooperated, we ought to explore how actors made use of specific interpersonal networks, channels of communication, and community structures, as well as the legal and institutional resources that developed independently from them, in order to assess their agents' and partners' trustworthiness and enforce contracts, depending on the contexts in which they operated and the challenges that they faced. In so doing, we need not write off sociocultural differences in economic behavior as long as we avoid the sort of cultural determinism that so weakens aggressively Eurocentric oppositions between "Western" and "Eastern" civilizations.[27] Instead, the approach to the study of business cooperation outlined here is compatible with an understanding of culture as a mutable process, rather than as a monolithic cause of economic behavior.[28] It appreciates collective characterizations of a particular group's prowess or cunning behavior in business, but it conceives them as perceptions that affect market relations rather than as built-in qualities of that group.

The question, then, is not whether Sephardic merchants had their own business culture or ethic. As with any other ethno-religious group, their business practices and ethics built on a mixture of religious traditions, social arrangements, international mercantile customs, and local norms. Rather, we have to ask how various Jewish communities—or any other trading diaspora, for that matter—projected the impression of being a trustworthy collective. As economist Dasgupta acknowledges, reputation is an asset that groups and institutions, not only individuals, can acquire, and stereotypical views of a group can favor or disfavor its members.[29] It is all too evident that Jewish communities in Christian Europe had to manage their self-image of credibility not only against reality (were individual Jews reliable or not?) but also against deep-rooted anti-Semitic preconceptions of Jews as usurers and cheaters. For our purposes, the origins of such accusations matter less than their perpetual resurfacing, even in contexts in which Sephardic merchants were relatively well integrated. An upsurge of anti-Semitism, for example, followed the 1688 fall of the Amsterdam Stock Exchange; and to prevent a similar incident, the London Jewish community prohibited its merchants from trading in gold and silver in 1689.[30]

Among most trading diasporas, lay and religious organizations enforced conformity by creating incentives for good conduct in business and by facilitating the transmission of information about merchants' credibility. On many occasions, moreover, philanthropy provided merchants with the means to boost their prestige, thereby showing how social and economic motivations were intertwined. Studnicki-Gizbert in this volume hints at the function of French Calvinist churches. Armenian mercantile and information networks in central and southern Asia also overlapped with those of the Armenian Church.[31] Many ethno-religious minorities continued to display collective anxiety about insolvency as an antisocial behavior that was typical of the medieval period (*falliti sunt infames*).[32] Among Dutch Mennonites of the seventeenth century, fraud and bankruptcy could result in excommunication.[33] In eighteenth-century England, the Society of Friends scrutinized the morality of its members who went bankrupt to avoid any negative impact on the Quakers' good name. As a result of this scrutiny, "Quakers had very high 'credit ratings' both in dealing with themselves and with non-Quakers."[34] Similar preoccupations troubled the western Sephardim, although they intervened more indirectly in the economic affairs of their members than Quakers and Mennonites.

Sephardic communities in Christian lands selected their leaders and administrators among laymen, normally wealthy merchants and bankers. Upon them fell the right and obligation, among others, to adjudicate lawsuits and issue temporary or permanent bans of excommunication (*herem*). The elected leaders of the Portuguese and Spanish Jewish communities (*parnassim*) of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Amsterdam, Hamburg, and London targeted men, and seldom women, with these decrees and charged them not only with religious dissent but also with all sorts of disciplinary transgressions (including dietary and marital laws, contacts with non-Jews, improper political pronouncements, and more). Only rarely were penalties issued against abuses in merchant practices, although some community statutes contemplated this possibility. Evidence shows that the threat of excommunication exerted little deterrent power in Amsterdam, where the Sephardic population lived back to back with gentiles and was relatively well integrated into a cosmopolitan city, while it was more effective in Hamburg, where the Sephardic community was much smaller and immersed in a more hostile environment.[35] Whether through excommunication or peer pressure, Sephardic organizations acted as watchdogs over merchants' moral rectitude and commercial honesty, even in contexts in which individual Sephardim enjoyed the same protection of property rights as all other merchants.[36] Furthermore, Sephardic community leaders negotiated rights and obligations on behalf of their coreligionists with government authorities in the framework of the corporate and non-egalitarian societies of early modern Europe, including rights and obligations that encroached upon their economic activities.[37]

The recent historiography on trading diasporas often remarks on the importance of their relations to political power while also stressing their internal fragmentation. Against the propensity to represent the South Asian diaspora as a unity, Markovits focuses on one of its subgroups, the Sindhi businessmen from north of Karachi, and follows them across the globe over the course of two centuries. Such was the heterogeneity of this group in terms of religion (some were Hindu and some Muslim), caste, and local culture that they "did not develop an overarching sense of 'ethnic' solidarity," and a multiplicity of spatial and functional networks arose.[38] Jonathan Israel's synthesis of the multiple and overlapping ramifications of the western Sephardic diaspora from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries is aptly entitled *Diasporas within a Diaspora*.[39] The text written by David Attias in 1778 that opens this essay discloses yet another division within the Sephardic world: one between "northern" (today we would say "western") and "eastern" Sephardim—a division that in the following century grew into a defining character of the relation between European and Mediterranean Jewry.[40] Just how, if all influential trading diasporas of the early modern period were so internally divided, did they operate commercially? Once we set aside idealized representations of the social and cultural unity of diasporas, we also dispense with the unexamined assumption that coreligionists are automatically business allies. But if we no longer presume that trading diasporas were inherently cohesive groups, what then accounts for the economic efficacy of Sephardim and others in the increasingly competitive and violent world of trade in the age of European commercial expansion?

Most historians approach these questions through a micro-scale analysis of interpersonal and family alliances as well as communitarian structures that developed within the broader diasporic "nation." As Studnicki-Gizbert reminds us, it is not sufficient to assert the importance of kinship relations in general, because marriage strategies varied greatly from one diaspora to the other, and endogamy did not have the same meaning for every group. Different kinship structures, then, had direct and indirect effects on the forms of business cooperation that minority merchant communities sought with their own fellows and with outsiders. Armenians, who were particularly influential in Iran, the Mediterranean, parts of Europe, and India from the early seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries, lacked religious unity and resettled in both Christian and Muslim lands. As a result of missionary efforts by Capuchins and other Catholic religious orders, many Armenians, including some influential families, broke with the Apostolic Patriarch and converted to Catholicism. In

Catholic and Protestant Europe, the Armenian merchant diaspora was predominantly male, and conversion helped Armenian men in Venice and Livorno integrate via marriage to local women. In the Levantine ports, instead, Armenian women necessarily migrated together with men.[41] For Quakers, who forged the most pan-Atlantic religious organization of the early modern period, translocal solidarity was less the result of marriages than itinerant ministers, both men and women.[42] Among the Sindhis studied by Markovits, only goods, credit, capital, and men traveled across space—not women.[43]

In contrast, the circulation of women played a critical role in the Sephardic diaspora. Charitable funds set up in Venice, Livorno, Amsterdam, and elsewhere in the seventeenth century to provide poor maidens with a small dowry had a translocal character.[44] More important to the Sephardic elites were personally crafted marriage alliances with other affluent families overseas. Evidence of such arrangements transpires from notarial records, collections of marriage contracts, and commercial letters. Dowry systems and inheritance practices also varied greatly from one group to the other, and both had a profound impact on the formation and transmission of merchant capital.[45] Any investigation of trust within a trading diaspora thus needs to test the extent to which kinship ties correlated with the choice of business associates and agents, and to identify the specific practices that led to the creation of multiple personal and information networks within the larger group.

Authors like Israel and Baghdiantz McCabe suggest an alternate, though not incompatible, approach to the questions posed by the internal fragmentation of trading diasporas. They see the backing of political authorities as key to commercial and financial success and examine how stateless diasporas inserted themselves into specific institutional configurations. Throughout his work, Israel locates a powerful engine of change in the relationship that single Jewish communities and influential individual merchants and bankers entertained with European rulers at home and overseas. Analyzing the role of Sephardic traders in the early modern Atlantic, he concludes that they were simultaneously "agents and victims of empire."[46] A similar ambivalence invested the destiny of the Armenian diaspora in the early modern period. In 1604–5, the Safavid ruler forcibly deported the Armenian population living in the Transcaucasian regions to New Julfa, a suburb of Isfahan, capital of Persia. Out of this persecution also came Safavid protection that proved essential to the international economic role of the Armenians, especially in the trade of raw silk; and New Julfa remained Armenians' heartland for over a century. Furthering an established scholarly tradition that emphasizes the importance of the link between the Safavids and the Armenian elites, Baghdiantz McCabe identifies an influential segment of the Armenian mercantile community that constituted a pillar of the Safavid regime and whose fate was sealed by the fall of the court faction to which it was attached in 1646. In light of this evidence, she asserts "the necessity of avoiding the study of diaspora as a unit."[47]

Religious identity and relations with the political establishment were not the only fissures that structured Armenians' commercial activities. From the point of view of their legal status, the overwhelming majority of Armenians were either Persian or Ottoman subjects. Whether they affected merchants' self-perceptions or not, these legal distinctions mattered in the arena of international trade. In Marseille, Ottoman (but not Persian) Armenians were forbidden from participating in the lucrative French commerce with the Levant in 1687.[48] At the time when Armenians controlled the greatest portion of raw silk exported from Persia to Europe via the Levant, the French crown aimed at undermining the Ottoman Empire and the Armenian competition in the Levant, where French merchants were procuring raw silk, while reinforcing diplomatic relations with Safavid Persia, where, on the other hand, the French commercial presence was feeble. No doubt many Ottoman Armenians devised all sorts of subterfuges to pass for Persian. However fictitious, legal identity imposed from the outside had very tangible consequences for the organization of trade.

We must, of course, note how internally diverse trading diasporas were, but we must also ask to what extent their boundaries were permeable in the early modern period. How did Sephardic merchants create bonds of economic cooperation with non-Jews? Were their relations with coreligionists and with outsiders governed by different legal arrangements? These questions have great implications for any study of the development of capitalism and its alleged force of integration and equalization; while credit institutions and new global patterns of trade increased opportunities for contact and enlarged the participation of new social groups at the core of European commerce and finance, religious minorities continued to stumble against legal and social barriers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. More specifically, we may want to ask to what extent legal instruments were the sole facilitators of cross-cultural exchanges and to what extent socially enforced informal reputation control helped favor relations with outsiders as well as conformity within a relatively closed group.

The organization of trade in the early modern Atlantic offers a compelling context within which to address these issues. First of all, Jews were bound by radically different legal statuses in different regions of the Atlantic. Banned from all Iberian territories and from most French colonies, they acquired greater legal rights in the Dutch Atlantic and operated with mixed security in English colonies. In the Iberian Atlantic, Portuguese New Christians flourished, particularly thanks to contraband during the union of the Spanish and Portuguese crowns (1580–1640).[49] In the eighteenth century, New Christians and, after 1723, Jewish merchants participated in the rapid expansion of Bordeaux Atlantic trade as both merchants and ship owners.[50] In the Dutch and English Atlantic, large portions of transoceanic trade were in the hands of family partnerships and ethno-religious diasporas. The Dutch West India Company, founded in 1621 as a political, economic, and military weapon against Spain and Portugal, only maintained monopoly over the trade in African slaves, war munitions, and brazilwood after 1638, and Dutch Atlantic trade was further liberalized in 1648. Sugar in the Dutch Caribbean was a free enterprise, and Sephardic merchant-entrepreneurs played a significant role in Curaçao and Suriname and engaged in profitable contraband with the English Caribbean as well.[51] Trade in the English (and later British) Atlantic, the fastest growing European commercial sector in the eighteenth century, was open to all the Crown's subjects, with the exception of the profitable but limited area chartered to the Hudson's Bay Company in 1670 and the weak and short-lived slave trade monopoly of the Royal African Company. The eighteenth-century British Atlantic was thus populated by a multitude of private traders, including many ethno-religious diasporas: Quakers, Huguenots, Sephardim, and especially the Scots. What accounts for the greater success of some of these groups? What explains their geographical and functional specialization? Why did no single Sephardic family ever thrive as much as, say, the Perry of London, studied by Jacob Price, who controlled the Virginia tobacco trade from 1690 to 1720, or the Scottish associates to whom Hancock credits a decisive role in weaving together a commercial empire in the mid-eighteenth-century British Atlantic?[52]

Geographical conditions confined the scope of ethno-religious diasporas. Although they moved to pursue new opportunities, they could not be ubiquitous. Armenians, for example, were virtually absent from the early modern Atlantic. By the time Hamburg surpassed Amsterdam as an Atlantic port for colonial staples in the middle of the eighteenth century, the economic position of Sephardic merchants in the Hanseatic city had deteriorated considerably, making way for the rise of Huguenot bankers and merchants who traded in sugar and indigo with the French Atlantic port cities. The Lutheran clergy and the guilds of Hamburg unleashed their hostility toward the Sephardim, but the latter's decline was hastened by macro political and economic changes in the Atlantic.[53] Demographics also carried their weight. If the power of diasporas resided primarily, though not exclusively, in their internal connections, the thickness of these connections was of paramount importance. In Studnicki-Gizbert's calculations, what he calls the "Portuguese Nation," composed of both New Christians and Jews, counted some 10,000 affiliates in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Atlantic. Across western Europe and the Atlantic there were fewer than 15,000 Sephardim living as Jews in the early eighteenth century, with some 2,000 or 3,000 of them settled in the Caribbean. These numbers pale before that of 40,000 Quakers residing in the western hemisphere, or the 150,000 to 200,000 Huguenots of the post-1685 diaspora (although only 1,500 Huguenots lived in British America around 1700).[54] Even if only a fraction of individuals in each of these diasporic communities was involved in long-distance trade, it is necessary to weigh the geo-demographic determinants of their respective effectiveness.

Legal and substantive discrimination also affected the commercial strategies of ethno-religious diasporas. Until the Revolution, New Christian merchants in the French Caribbean operated with de facto but not *de lege* security of their property rights and were thus subject to the arbitrary benevolence or ill will of local authorities.[55] In 1645, after a Jewish battalion suffered severe losses in fighting the Portuguese enemy, the Estates General ordered that Jews in Dutch Brazil receive protection from any damage to their persons and properties in the same way that full-fledged subjects of the United Provinces would.[56] Remarkable as it was, this protection was short-lived (the Dutch lost their Brazilian holdings in 1646–54), and at the time it did not extend to Jewish residents of Dutch colonies elsewhere. Jewish traders met with even greater legal restrictions in England and its dominions. After being readmitted to England in 1656, Jews remained marginal to the commercial and financial expansion of London. They were excluded from retail trade in the City and granted only a fixed number of brokers working in the Royal Exchange. Barred from joining the Levant Company or sitting on the boards of directors of the West India and East India Companies, and confined for the most part to the status as "aliens" in the kingdom, Jews played a limited role in British overseas trade. The 1651 Navigation Acts forbade foreigners from trading in English territories and prescribed that aliens pay considerably higher customs rates. Only the wealthiest among English Jews could afford to undergo the lengthy and expensive process of becoming British subjects, while others requested a special patent of "endenization" granted by the king, which conferred upon them the status of second-class subjects of the monarchy. This patent allowed them to carry colonial goods, but, as Holly Snyder documents, still curtailed their personal and economic security.[57]

For a merchant, limited civil rights could mean uncertainty about property rights and vulnerability to arbitrary seizures ordered by courts.[58] Snyder documents instances of these sorts in both Jamaica and Rhode Island in the 1670s and 1680s, and downplays the impact of the so-called Plantation Act of 1740 for Jewish conduct of long-distance trade (by allowing Jews who had been living in American colonies for the previous seven years to become British subjects without taking the otherwise required sacrament of the Anglican Church, the Plantation Act lifted all restrictions that fell upon Jews under the Navigation Acts).[59] A handful of prosperous Jewish merchants in London handled a considerable share of the diamond trade with India, thanks to special concessions made by the East India Company, and a few emerged as army contractors and financiers of the Crown, but Jewish merchants never attained primacy in the British Atlantic economy.[60] In contrast to Quakers (until 1696) and Jews, Huguenots endured no legal discrimination in England and assimilated into the Anglican Church. In London they were considerably more numerous and wealthier than Sephardim. Between 1719 and 1785, at least twenty-five directors of the Bank of England and twenty-three directors of the London Assurance Company were Calvinists of either French or Dutch extraction.[61]

Legal barriers aside, in principle all merchants could take advantage of improved communication in the British Atlantic.[62] If communication was a vital tool to enforce reputation surveillance and diminish dishonesty in business enterprises, it would be important to learn more about whether Sephardic partnerships benefited equally from the existence of new market infrastructures and relied on a combination of private and public means of communication or whether they showed a preference for internal information channels. Even more crucial would be to clarify how Sephardic merchants cooperated with non-Jews in the early modern Atlantic. The ability to work with non-coreligionists was essential for a diaspora to expand its niche market. Greek sailors, traders, and brokers from the Venetian dominions in the eastern Mediterranean took advantage of their status as Venetian subjects to develop commercial ties with Venetian merchants in the sixteenth century, and later with English merchants, as the latter became more and more influential in Mediterranean trade.[63] Huguenots who established themselves in North Carolina in the late seventeenth century owed their success less to intragroup networks than to Charleston's booming maritime and commercial economy: "Their trading connections with England were mainly, although not exclusively, with merchants of English rather than of Huguenot descent."[64] Did different contracts govern relations among coreligionists and with outsiders or was the choice of agreement dictated by the location and type of transaction? Is it correct to hypothesize that legal contracts were used primarily with outsiders and among coreligionists who were not related by blood ties?

As Markovits recognizes, "the question of preference for kin is ultimately bound up with the question of 'trust,' since preference for employing kin is generally ascribed to the fact that kinsmen were deemed more trustworthy than non-kin elements."[65] And yet he finds that among the Sindhis, "business partnerships are often concluded between men who are not kin-related."[66] In eighteenth-century London, in contrast, when choosing "competent, honest, and loyal managers" overseas, the proactive Scottish merchants studied by Hancock "turned repeatedly to their kinsmen and acquaintances in America, Scotland, Ireland, or the counties" or else to those who had worked for them in the past and about whom they could gather information.[67] Jewish merchants of eighteenth-century Livorno, the most influential trading diaspora in the Mediterranean at the time, operated primarily with family partnerships that were sealed by matrimonial contracts—a feature that limited their ability to raise capital, but facilitated the intergenerational transmission of the firm and consolidated the partners' commitment to one another.[68] Certainly, the importance of family ties did not decline in all places over time. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Greek diaspora that dominated international ship ownership continued to be strictly endogamic, and the core elite of this diaspora was actually restricted to families from the island of Chios.[69]

The dependence on family ties as the basis of mercantile association did not exclude the use of legal contracts both among coreligionists and with outsiders. Medieval North African Jews already relied not only on friendship but also on contracts (including family partnerships, temporary *commendas*, commission agencies, loans, or powers of attorney) to form and monitor joint commercial enterprises.[70] Seventeenth-century Armenian merchants continued to make large use of *commenda*-type contracts when hiring one of their own as a traveling agent.[71] Sindhis also underwrote agreements that were variants of the Muslim *commenda* (*mudaraba*) to establish temporary partnerships among themselves.[72] Indian merchants in Central Asia, on the other hand, used *commendas* when dealing with Turks, Armenians, Afghans, and Russians during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[73] And nineteenth-century Greek entrepreneurs forged opportunistic alliances with external collaborators, mainly Jews and Armenians, on the basis of an assortment of contracts—oral agreements, sea loans, *commendas*, limited partnerships, and even *sociétés anonymes*.[74]

This scattered evidence suggests that merchants of all times and places, whether part of a diaspora or not, utilized agreements ranging from promises sealed by word of mouth or a handshake to contractual obligations and notarial deeds.[75] Further research is needed to ascertain the logic behind early modern Sephardic merchants' decision to stipulate written contracts with non-kin and non-Jews. It would seem that in Livorno they had a lesser propensity to pool capital with local and foreign Christians by way of notary deeds than in Amsterdam. Considering that there were no prohibitions against such contractual agreements in either locality, factors others than the legal system bore on the Sephardim's choices and decisions in this matter.[76]

In order to respond to Dasgupta's condemnation that "networks can be suffocating," we also need to verify whether Sephardic partnerships in the eighteenth century grew in size and specialization or not, and whether they participated in what historians of British long-distance trade call the "revolution of scale" that occurred in transatlantic commerce in the century after 1675: an increasing number of private merchants began to specialize in a single commodity trade, a specific geographic region, and even in imports, exports, or re-exports alone; meanwhile, fewer actors began to control larger segments of overseas trade, especially sugar and tobacco, in ports like London, Glasgow, and Bristol.[77] More importantly for our discussion, we need to establish when legal contracts were chosen over informal arrangements and determine what their respective advantages were by examining how disputes were adjudicated when contracts were infringed. To what authorities and with what outcomes did Sephardim bring their complaints against defaulting agents and partners across the early modern Atlantic? We now know that Armenian merchants from New Julfa could count on a clearing and adjudicating board back at home from wherever they were but that this semiformal institution only worked for intragroup litigation.[78] At the same time, especially in situations in which legal enforcements were weak and inequitable, the Sephardic networks offer striking proof that cooperation could develop between non-kin and non-coreligionists on the basis of shared mercantile customs and collective reputation control even in the absence of overarching legal authorities.[79] We thus face a much more complex and varied set of evidence than a simple dichotomy between informal intragroup trust and intercultural, anonymous, legally enforced transactions would lead us to believe.

The historical study of trading diasporas has arrived at a crossroads. The object of its investigation no longer has the patently innovative character that it possessed nearly a quarter century ago, when Philip Curtin published his pioneering *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History*. The growing historical literature on trading diasporas in the early modern period that has appeared since Curtin's book challenges received notions of an allegedly superior European economic rationality and conventional depictions of capitalist development as a story of abstraction and anonymity. Regrettably, for the most part, it has also taken solidarity among kin and coreligionists for granted, and, with some exceptions, used that solidarity to explain the effectiveness of merchant communities. In so doing, this literature has illuminated the inner workings of various trading diasporas less than it might have. A decade has passed since Sanjay Subrahmanyam praised scholarship on merchant communities for freeing "merchant activity from the strait-jacket of developmental stages" and yet pointed to the risk that "the idea of 'diaspora' . . . de-historicises merchant communities, creating a form of false congruence between the activities of such groups, which were in fact quite varied over space and time."[80] Today, any historical inquiry on trading diasporas is faced with the double task of historicizing their experience and placing them in a comparative perspective. It is in this spirit that I chose to scrutinize questions about the sources and workings of business cooperation both within and across trading diasporas.

Some have urged us to abandon altogether expressions like "trading diasporas" and "trust" because they inevitably essentialize the objects to which they refer.[81] The approach that I have suggested here moves away from tacitly or overtly consensual conceptions of merchant communities, and yet, it does not embrace in toto the criticism put forth by economists such as Williamson, Dasgupta, and Greif, who overestimate the degree to which competitive markets developed historically as equalizers of all differences and improperly assume that legal systems operated transparently and evenhandedly to everyone's benefit. Despite its vagueness, the phrase "trading diaspora" not only indicates spatial dispersion and lack of a state authority but also, more than "merchant community," conveys the minority status that affected the activities of merchants like the Sephardim. Moreover, the use of this expression does not imply that we consider trading diasporas internally cohesive and presume that their members relied only on informal instruments of reputation control. We can also retain the word "trust," which was very much part of the medieval and early modern mercantile vocabulary, both to signal one's social and economic credibility and to echo the collective dimension of reputation and prejudice that was central to the existence of ethno-religious minorities.[82] "Trust" (as opposed to, say, "calculativeness"), which evokes the importance of social networks in conveying and enforcing norms of appropriate business conduct, can still be understood as an instrumental evaluation of risks and incentives.[83]

As many recognize, trading diasporas were as complex and as heterogeneous as any other group. Rather than invoking the generic importance of family, religious, ethnic, and communitarian ties, we need to examine how social networks were formed both within and across the borders of a trading diaspora and bring their specificity into relief through a comparative analysis of business organization. For this purpose, "network" is a useful heuristic device when not used generically, because it serves to identify the particular channels through which individuals, money, commodities, and information circulated, as well as the effects on reputation these channels generated.[84] As several studies of the western Sephardic diaspora demonstrate, individuals and communities scattered around the globe had a tangible sense of belonging together, and they created religious, social, and economic institutions to sustain this translocal identity. Group loyalty was undoubtedly a common and necessary feature of the premodern business world, especially for those groups that lacked their own state. But group loyalty was neither a guarantee of success nor the automatic result of inherent qualities of community life. It always rested on specific motivations and specific safeguards, developed within particular interpersonal networks and in concert with exogenous market and legal infrastructures. In sum, trust, whether among coreligionists or with outsiders, was not an organic attribute of closed communities but the outcome of a dynamic process that included an evaluation of available resources and constraints—a process that often required particular creativity on the part of minorities. It is thus necessary to determine when, which, and why legal arrangements and institutions constituted the preferred method of conflict resolution, and when merchants opted to stay away from courts. In the end, when studying how members of a trading diaspora selected their partners and agents and monitored them to prevent fraud and incompetence, we need to map the spectrum of legal, economic, and social tools at their disposal, ranging from those generated internally by personal and communitarian diasporic networks to those that emerged externally via market relations and legal institutions. The history of long-distance trade in the early modern period is rich with examples of how market and communities coexisted, reinforced one another, and sometimes clashed.

The early modern Atlantic offers a case in point. For many Jews, the New World opened up new economic opportunities and greater cultural, religious, and political freedom than the Old. Nowhere in the Americas were Jews forced to wear any distinctive clothes and signs, nor were they confined within the walls of a ghetto. The first and only entirely agricultural Jewish colony was founded in Suriname, and Jews owned plantations across the Caribbean. The first time a European state conceived of including a Jewish representative in the government was probably in Sir Josiah Child's plan for the municipal council ruling the East India Company's colony in Madras in 1687.[85] But it was in the Dutch and British Atlantic that Jews apprenticed as citizens of Christian states before the French Revolution. This new legal and social recognition also had a positive impact on the economic activities of the Sephardim and their conduct of long-distance trade. And yet, Jewish traders in the early modern Atlantic not only faced the same uncertainties as all other merchants with regard to shipwreck, piracy, and war but also confronted specific challenges and limitations that all the essays in this volume have sought to define. A comparative historical approach such as the one delineated here, and that Israel and Studnicki-Gizbert also pursue in this volume, can further illuminate how different stateless groups negotiated a variety of solutions in relation to their internal structure as well as the different contexts and state powers with which they interacted.

PART III

Identity and Religion

CHAPTER SEVEN

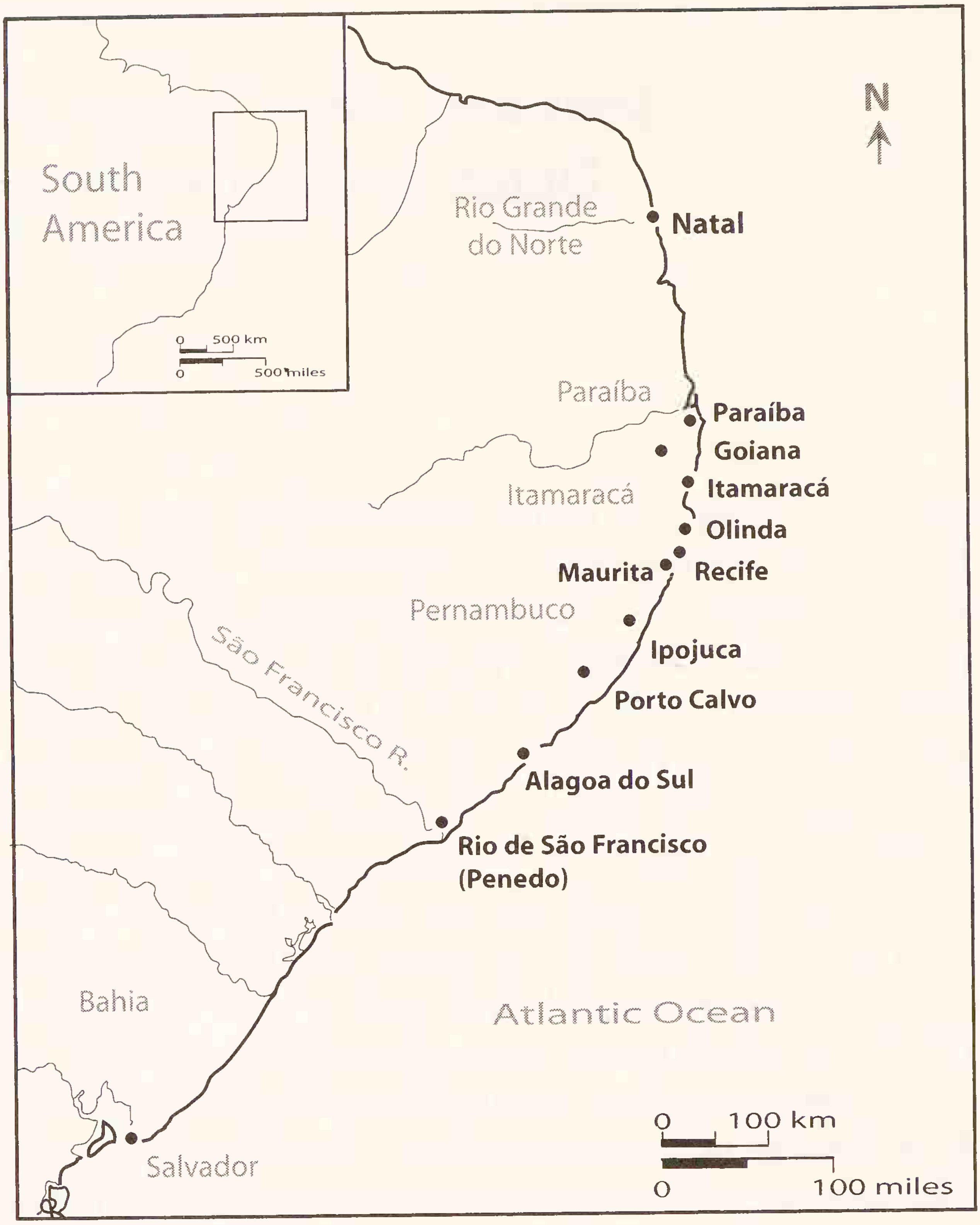
Jews and New Christians in Dutch Brazil, 1630–1654

BRUNO FEITLER

FROM 1630 TO 1654, the Dutch conquered and occupied a long strip of land on the northeastern coast of Brazil. After a short-lived occupation of Bahia in the mid-1620s, the Dutch managed to take control of a stretch of land that, although varying in size due to incessant military campaigns, encompassed the lion's share of the region's most important captaincy, Pernambuco, extending from Maranhão in the north to Alagoas in the south. During this period, the Dutch were able to maintain a stable territorial base between the towns of Recife (Pernambuco's most important urban center), Itamaracá, and Paraíba. Once these territorial conquests were consolidated, in 1635, Jews from Amsterdam began seeking permission to settle in Brazil. By as early as 1636, the émigrés had founded the first official Jewish community in the New World.[1]

There are many reasons why a study of the Jewish community that settled in the Brazilian northeast is important. The most evident and symbolically significant is that Recife's community was the first official Jewish congregation in the Americas. What is more, it also served as the origin for later communities, which emerged as offshoots following its disintegration. In fact, Jews from Recife founded the majority of seventeenth-century Jewish congregations in the New World.[2] The Jewish experience in Dutch Brazil is also significant in that it reveals, like a magnifying glass, how, over a short period of time and with great intensity the recently settled Amsterdam Jews—founders of Recife's congregation, almost all of whom were of Spanish or Portuguese origin—forged strong relationships with local New Christians, those descendants of Jews from Portugal who, under duress, had been obliged in 1497 to convert to Catholicism.[3]

Influenced by the arrival of Jews in the newly conquered territories,


South America
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N
Rio Grande do Norte
Natal
Paraíba
Paraíba
Goiana
Itamaracá
Itamaracá
Olinda
Maurita
Recife
Pernambuco
São Francisco R.
Ipojuca
Porto Calvo
Alagoa do Sul
Rio de São Francisco (Penedo)
Bahia
Atlantic Ocean
Salvador
0 100 km
0 100 miles

Map of Dutch Brazil with its main towns and villages. Rui Pimenta

many local New Christians openly declared themselves to be Jews as well, a transformation that, according to Manoel Calado (1584–1654), one of the main chroniclers of the Portuguese reconquest of Pernambuco, had the effect of "greatly scandalizing the Christians." In his discussions of the putative sins of the inhabitants of Pernambuco—who were believed to have directly provoked the Dutch invasion by incurring the wrath of the divine—Calado noted that many New Christians "obeyed the Law of Moses" and that after the arrival of the Dutch they had themselves "circumcised in public and openly declared themselves as Jews." As a Portuguese Catholic, Calado was a hostile commentator, but many of his observations nevertheless ring true.[4]

In order to be fully accepted by the new community, baptized men had to be circumcised, which was carried out either in Recife or, as appears to be the case for many New Christians, in Amsterdam. These "returnees" to Judaism, as they were called, helped form a community that possibly was more heteroclite than Amsterdam's own Jewish community. In Amsterdam Sephardic Jews born to openly Jewish parents—whether from Amsterdam, Leghorn, Venice, Hamburg, the Ottoman Empire, or the Maghreb—rubbed shoulders not only with Polish and German Jews but also with former New Christians from Spain, Portugal, and France who had been baptized and raised for at least part of their lives as Catholics.[5] In Pernambuco, on the other hand, the Dutch conquest did not necessarily create a more diversified community. Instead, it changed the percentage of first generation Portuguese and Brazilian natives within the community. In effect, the creation of Dutch Brazil led to an unprecedented set of circumstances: a Catholic territory inhabited by New Christians, where Judaism was permitted, and which was subject to Calvinist rule. This situation had serious consequences for local New Christians, since it became much easier for them to return to Judaism. Before the Dutch settlement, if a judaizing New Christian in Brazil had wanted to declare himself a Jew and fully adhere to the rules of his religion, he would have been obliged to take a perilous trip to Holland or Hamburg via Portugal.[6] After the Dutch takeover, however, it was no longer necessary to migrate to unknown lands in order to convert. From 1636 onward, an individual seeking to return to Judaism could attend a nearby synagogue without fear of persecution, a place where returnees could receive a Jewish (re)education and openly celebrate Shabbat and other Jewish festivities. Not all judaizers, let alone all New Christians, took this path. But the number of returnees to prescriptive Judaism grew after 1630, and even more rapidly after the foundation of the synagogue in 1636.

This unprecedented experience of a community of the Portuguese diaspora established in a Portuguese territory that was then conquered by the Dutch led to a variety of tensions and pressures. Not all New Christians in Brazil, for instance, viewed the arrival of the Dutch as a liberation. Many took the opportunity to officially integrate into the local Jewish community, while others did so only after feeling pressure from the official Jews. Others preferred to stay Catholic even while they continued to practice Jewish rites. Yet another group of New Christians remained faithful Catholics and kept a safe distance from the newly established synagogue and its members. These different responses to the Jewish presence in Brazil point to the complexity of what it meant to be a Portuguese Jew, a New Christian, or a converso: that is, being part of the "Portuguese Jewish nation." The purpose of this essay is to explore the paradoxes of identity such terms imply.

Officially, two Jewish communities arose in Dutch Brazil: one in Recife and the other in Mauritia, located on the west side of the estuary of the Beberibe and the Capibaribe rivers (currently a neighborhood of Recife). In 1636, Recife's Jewish congregation—known as Kahal Kadosh Tsur Israel, or Holy Congregation of the Rock of Israel, which was possibly an allusion to the reefs that inspired the town's name—gathered in a rented house. Approximately four or five years later, the community constructed a special building on the rua do Bode, also known as rua dos Judeus.[7] However, it was not long before the lack of space—possibly caused by the growth of the congregation—led some Jews to move to Mauritia, where they erected a second prayer house in order to celebrate Shabbat without having to commute to services by boat and thus profane the weekly celebration (a bridge between the communities would only be built in 1644). The Mauritian community received official authorization from Recife to establish itself, on condition that, if Tsur Israel's community's council (the *Mahamad*) demanded, it would cease its activities.

Relations between the two communities, however, were not always smooth. Mauritia's community was likely founded in 1637, and took the name Kahal Kadosh Magen Abraham (the shield of Abraham).[8] In 1648, four years after the completion of the bridge linking both towns, it merged reluctantly with Tsur Israel. Mauritia's community proved unwilling to accept the supremacy of Recife's Mahamad, which had to appeal in turn to the Dutch High Government Council. For its part, Magen Abraham sought redress from Amsterdam. But, in a letter dated January 29, 1649, the Mahamad of Talmud Torah community of Amsterdam threatened to cut all subsidies to the Jews of Pernambuco if the two communities failed to reach a compromise.[9] By the time this letter reached

Brazil, the two congregations had already reached an accord and merged, as is shown by the decision of Recife's *parnassim* (the Mahamad's members) of January 14, 1649 (1 Shvat 5409).

In addition to the congregations located in Recife and Mauritia, other synagogues, or *esnogas*, existed, but these were no more than gathering places for local Jews, or even judaizers, not officially established communities. Tsur Israel and Magen Abraham were the only two official Jewish communities in Dutch Brazil. The most important of those "pseudo-synagogues" was active in the city of Paraíba, where both local Jews and those passing through met to celebrate Shabbat and probably other holidays. Such gatherings occurred at the house of the so-called Jewish captain, Moisés Peixoto, who conducted services in Hebrew, while those in attendance followed in Hebrew or, if they did not know that language, in Spanish. Defying the community's rules restricting the formation of other congregations in the Dutch Brazilian territories, the Jews of Paraíba might have tried to start a local congregation, without success. In 1638 Dutch official Johannes Marischal protested against the existence of a synagogue in Paraíba.[10] Article 10 of Recife's *Askamot* (the community's agreements) also alluded to Jews in Paraíba, when it stated that every person of "our Nation" residing in Brazil had to be *yahid* (an official member) of Recife's community, which entailed respecting its rules, signing the book of the community's members, and paying communal taxes, "whether they live in Paraíba or in any other part."

Other informal synagogues existed in Dutch Brazil. Apparently, there was one in Olinda, not far from Recife. Another seemingly existed in Rio de São Francisco (currently the town of Penedo), on the fringe of the Dutch territories. Furthermore, in one of his many poems, Daniel Levi de Barrios mentions Rabbi Jacob Lagarto from Itamaracá.[11] Was there a synagogue on that island? Historian Gonsalves de Mello categorically doubts the existence of either a community or a rabbi on Itamaracá.[12] But, during an interview with inquisitors, Isaac de Castro (a returnee Jew arrested by the Inquisition in Bahia, where he was supposedly trying to persuade New Christians to return to Judaism), reported the existence of five Jews living in Rio de São Francisco. Among them was Samuel Israel, who in 1650 was accused of being the local "rabbi," during a local inquiry. Mention is even made of a "rua dos Judeus" (street of Jews) having existed in this settlement.[13]

Other informal gatherings, involving judaizing New Christians rather than declared Jews, also occurred in Dutch Brazil. One such meeting took place in Ipojuca, at the house of a family known as the Valenças—the mother, aunts, sisters, and cousins of Pedro da Costa Caminha, a New Christian who was in contact with Jews from Recife. Another happened at the ribeira de Guayana (perhaps the town of Goiana in the captaincy of Itamaracá), at the house of the New Christian Diogo Rodrigues Pereira the Younger, where Shabbat was celebrated in a specially designated room.[14] Nevertheless, few gatherings of significance could have taken place other than in Paraíba, Olinda, Penedo, Itamaracá, or even Ipojuca and Goiana, since these were the only settlements with Jewish populations large enough to form even informal communities. Jews also settled near sugar mills and ventured into the interior to peddle wares, but never in sufficient numbers to form one of these informal communities.

Relations between the newly arrived Jews of Recife and the city's community of New Christians were often fraught. The Portuguese Jews from Amsterdam were not always welcomed by those they considered as part of their Nation. A "return" movement to Judaism certainly occurred, especially after local judaizers recognized that their new Dutch masters were there to stay and that their readoption of Judaism would not be punished. The New Christians were understandably cautious, for they recalled the failed Dutch attempt in 1624 to occupy Bahia, which was reconquered by the Catholics after one year. Even in Amsterdam, the Jewish community was always extremely sensitive whenever its image and its relations with society at large were at stake. The decrees drawn up in 1639 by Amsterdam's Talmud Torah community—born out of the union of three preexisting local communities—illustrate this concern. For instance, it was strictly forbidden, under the penalty of *herem* (excommunication), to circumcise gentiles without special permission from the Mahamad. Permission was also required for the circumcision of newly arrived Spanish and Portuguese. Mention of "men not belonging to the Hebrew Nation" implies a concern with avoiding actions that might be viewed as provocative.[15] Likewise, *ascamah* 27 of Recife's decrees prohibited—with the risk of sanctions, chosen case by case by the Mahamad—any kind of dispute with members of other religions, for they would be "to our harm and damage."[16] *Ascamah* 32 forbade the circumcision of unknown (*estraño*) men or the admission of unknown women into the ritual baths, under penalty of exclusion from the community and a fine of fifty florins.[17]

The Recife Askamot did not explicitly state how its members distinguished people of "the Nation" from others. Yet, they obviously considered any person of known Jewish origin, of Portuguese or Spanish birth or descent, to be part of "the Nation." This broad definition might not meet with general rabbinical authority. As many studies of *responsa* and casuistic literature dealing with rabbis and the issue of conversos in the sixteenth century have revealed, the strictest authorities were loathe to adhere to the biblical assertion that declared that "even after having sinned, a Jew remains a Jew."[18]

Such opinions notwithstanding, the bonds linking the Portuguese of Amsterdam to the Iberian Peninsula were stronger than those attaching them to the sixteenth-century rabbinic tradition. Despite the number of generations that separated the converted of 1392 and of 1497 from the Amsterdam Jews, the Iberian origins of the majority of the community's members made it impossible for them to disavow those still living in exclusively Catholic countries, the so-called lands of idolatry, especially since many of their relatives still lived in Portugal or Spain. For them, New Christians still living in the Iberian Peninsula represented a living testimony to the history and aspirations of the Jewish people. This vision is reflected in local Amsterdamese literature in which New Christians were frequently referred to as "children of Israel," "Israelites," or simply "Jews."[19] The Portuguese nation of Amsterdam's struggle to construct its identity, as Yosef Kaplan and Miriam Bodian have shown, placed emphasis on Iberian culture, even when it was linked to notions of race.[20] Indeed, after a long process that began with the first forced conversions in Spain and lasted up until the institutionalization of the laws of purity of blood throughout the Iberian peninsula (and its domains), the image of the New Christians was that of a simultaneously familiar and alien presence within Iberian society. Confronted with this negative stereotype, New Christians elaborated different ways to protect themselves against attacks from society at large. Nevertheless, the Nation's members who openly practiced Judaism did not flout their religious rules. As Miriam Bodian has pointed out, the operation of the Compania de Dotar ofans e donzelas pobres (an institution created in 1615 that, as its name indicates, sought to endow poor maidens of the Nation) in Amsterdam is a typical example of the compromise reached by the community between *halakha* (rabbinic jurisprudence) and Iberianism.[21]

The Portuguese Jewish nation's fluctuating self-definition between Judaism and Iberianism is also evident in attitudes toward the afterlife. Based on an ordinance of 1645, the authorities of the Amsterdam community and those of Recife (referring to article 40 of the local Askamot) forbade *hashkavot* (remembrance prayers) to be said in honor of people who had died outside of Judaism.[22] These decisions demonstrate that certain members of those communities had indeed prayed in remembrance of relatives who had died in Spain or Portugal and had subsequently been buried according to Catholic rites, possibly in a cloister or a church.[23]

Even though Portuguese Jews considered the New Christians to be part of their socio-religious group, there remained divergent points of view about how to treat New Christians living as Catholics. Many members of the Portuguese Jewish communities, worried about the afterlife destiny of relatives who had died in the so-called lands of idolatry, tended to take quite literally rabbinical declarations that all Jews had a part in the world to come (Sanhedrin 11:1). Among them was Isaac Aboab da Fonseca, rabbi of Tsur Israel of Recife. In the 1630s, before his departure from Amsterdam to Brazil in 1641, he, and several men who shared his views, became involved in a controversy with their elder, Saul Levi Mortera, when they argued that every person of the Jewish nation had his salvation assured by simple virtue of being one of the chosen people. Nevertheless, to attain salvation, Jewish souls had to pass through a complex series of transmigrations to be purged of their sins. Opposed to this unconditional use of the Kabala to interpret the Holy Scriptures, Mortera, following the Talmudic tradition, argued that the soul of those that did not strictly adhere to the commandments would suffer eternal punishment without the possibility of redemption.[24]

Aboab's writings during his stay in Brazil (1641–54)—a Hebrew poem recounting the suffering of the community during the Portuguese siege of Recife and a letter written to Amsterdam's *maamad*—fail to provide clear indications of a change of opinion with respect to the punishment of sinners' souls.[25] Nevertheless, his ideological core remained consistent, as seen in his later writings such as *Paraphrases of the Pentateuch*, published in 1681. Addressing the Jewish people, he wrote: "You are the children of the Lord your God, who watches over you as a father watches over his son." Jews should not adopt gentiles' customs, and he offered the rites of mourning as a specific example: "Being the Lord's children, you have to understand that you are not like the gentiles who, once they have passed away, are dead for eternity. Contrarily, once you die, you live, and if you think differently, this would be tantamount to questioning the resurrection. The reason is that you are the chosen people, separated [from others] by the Lord your God, and that God has chosen you from among all the other people that only live for the time they are on Earth. But you, after leaving this world, you will live the greatest glory and a life that is sanctified."[26] Overall, this passage illustrates the existence of an afterlife (perhaps still a response to the heterodox ideas that appeared in the community during the mid and late seventeenth century objecting to rabbinic Judaism), but Aboab could not refrain from comparing the completely different destinies reserved for the souls of Jews with those of gentiles.[27] The latter, based solely on their condition as gentiles, had no place in the afterlife; Jews, however, had their places guaranteed, once they had successfully purified their souls.

Aboab's theories could have had a negative influence on the New Christians who were not always eager to go through circumcision and other rites necessary to becoming completely integrated within the official community. This laxity led the other "Brazilian" rabbi, Moisés Raphael de Aguilar, in his *Answer and Discourse on Some Questions of Bayonne*, written after his return from Brazil, to adopt a position that diverged significantly from that of his colleague. No doubt, different backgrounds partly explain the divergence, for Aboab was a disciple of the great cabalist Abraham Cohen de Herrera, while Aguilar had been taught by Mortera. Whatever the reasons for their differences, Aguilar's position was diametrically opposed to that of Aboab's. Aguilar believed that Jews who committed sins by breaking any one of the commandments had no place in the afterlife, the sinner's soul "being slashed and cut away from the celestial consistory of the blissful souls of the peoples of God; considered and treated as any filthy soul of the gentile peoples, deprived of glory and condemned to the sorrows of hell."[28] Addressed to men living in Bayonne, where Judaism was not legally allowed, Aguilar's vehemence might be explained as a response to a fake document received by those men about the importance of circumcision in regard of other Jewish ceremonies, purportedly written by Amsterdam's rabbis.[29] In another letter, addressed to Isaac Orobio de Castro, Aguilar adopted a more nuanced position when he wrote that the Doors of Redemption were also open to "Jews born and raised among gentiles," for the sins of those that did not believe in the Torah, but pretended to do so by observing its commandments, were bigger sins—on account of their weakness—than those who believed in the Torah without adhering to its commandments. The former were worthy of divine hatred but not excluded from forgiveness.[30]

In short, despite the efforts of the "Portuguese" leaders to define the Nation's boundaries, it is difficult to comprehend how those who immigrated to Holland reconciled being both Portuguese and Jewish. The link between both identities was fluid and ambiguous and was, at times, even conflicting.[31] It is therefore unsurprising that Recife's religious authorities (as well as those of Amsterdam's mother community) did not share identical opinions on the consequences of the sins committed by the Nation's members (both Jews and New Christians) or that the Brazilian community's rules about who could become a member remained unclear. The exceptional religious situation of the Dutch territories in Brazil could have forced rules to be more precise as a way of avoiding conflict with the Christian population. Instead, regulations in Brazil imitated those of Amsterdam, with no consideration of the local context. This lack of adaptation is demonstrated in the Mahamad's ruling of October 30, 1650, which called for the locking of the synagogue's door after the evening's services of Simhat Torah and Shabbat Bereshit, in order to avoid "gatherings and tumult by goyim," which ended in "disorders by the goyim and by our own, which is inadmissible in our prayer house." Apparently, tempers flared on such occasions, and this ruling was a way of maintaining order among the community's members. This lack of a precise regulation about who was part of the Nation might have been a reflection of the *parnassim*'s unconscious concerns about giving the rabbi, as well as the community's members, access to New Christians who might want to reconvert. Indeed, the Jewish community's actions in relation to their fellow members of the Portuguese Nation were far from timorous. In fact, they often acted aggressively.

Although Jewish proselytism did not constitute a historical reality during Antiquity or the Middle Ages, it was a recurring fantasy in the literature of those periods.[32] This fantasy continued into modern times, specifically, in Spain and Portugal. Portuguese authors of anti-Jewish literature fanned fears of Jewish influence when they demanded, echoing their medieval predecessors, the establishment of certain laws to minimize contact between Old and New Christians. During the seventeenth century, this desire for segregation became more racial than religious. Certain Iberian authors adapted principles of segregation to their racist ideologies, lauding the expulsion of all New Christians processed for Judaism by the Inquisition in order to prevent contaminating those who had not (yet) fallen into heresy. For such authors, all New Christians, because of their tainted blood, were easy prey for heresiarchs and dogmatists.[33] If not all New Christians were judaizers, there was nevertheless an internal mission in Portugal and Spain among the people of the Nation. Judaizers would try to persuade other New Christians to practice Jewish rites and eventually leave for "lands of Judaism," such as Amsterdam. Likewise, for the Jews from Recife who tried to lead New Christians back to Judaism, their actions were thus seen as an internal movement within the Nation, not as an example of universal missionary élan. This internal mission had mixed effects in Dutch Brazil, as individual lives will reveal.[34]

Born in Porto in 1618, the New Christian Pedro de Almeida traveled to Paraíba to work with the merchant João Nunes da Costa in 1633. After living "for two years in many different parts of Brazil," he boarded a ship in Serinhaém for Portugal, but the Dutch captured the vessel he was traveling on and brought it back to Recife.[35] There, he met Simão de Leão, a professing Jew and his mother's distant cousin, who took him back to Paraíba in 1635 or 1636, once the city was in Dutch hands. With the help of his daughters, Rachel and Judith de Leão, and of his son-in-law, Francisco de Faria, Simão persuaded Almeida to return to Judaism. According to his confession to the Inquisition, "he started to believe in the Law of Moses, taking it as the good law and hoping to attain salvation by it, which he declared to the other Jews, discussing the Law of Moses with them on many occasions, reciting for its observation Jewish prayers that he learned in a book written in [vernacular?] and Castilian, which had been given to him by the said Simão de Leão, in whose house there were some. And he [Pedro de Almeida] observed all the ceremonies, eating and praying in their way."[36]

Simão de Leão took his cousin's education seriously, persuading him to become a professing Jew and teaching him all the prayers and rituals necessary to be considered a fully practicing and believing member of the Jewish nation. To further his education, oddly enough, Simão de Leão did not send Pedro de Almeida to Recife—only a day's journey from Paraíba—but instead had him travel to Amsterdam to be circumcised. Perhaps Jews from Paraíba disputed Tsur Israel's leadership. According to Almeida's own story, on his way to Holland he began to entertain thoughts of abandoning his religious calling. However, Simão de Leão's family in Holland persuaded him "not to forsake Judaism, for the Law of Moses was the only true and good way to attain salvation, and that they . . . hoped to attain it." In the end, Almeida was circumcised at Simão's brother's house, with Francisco de Faria as his "godfather." During the ceremony, he was renamed Isaac. Three months later, he was back in Paraíba as a professing Jew.[37]

Manoel Gomes Chacão, a New Christian from Trancoso, Portugal, lived in Taquara, across from the island of Itamaracá, during the Dutch period. Taking advantage of the political instability of the time, his enemies (in fact some of his in-laws) repeatedly plundered his estates with the help of some Portuguese soldiers. In order to protect himself, in August 1642, Chacão moved to Recife, as he would later recall, to be

> among the Dutch, hoping to escape from his enemies. Immediately upon his arrival, the local Jews tried to convince him, his wife Maria Soares de Leão and their sons João, who was probably 12 or 13 years old, and Francisco, who was 7 or 8 [to accept Judaism], arguing that they were New Christians and that for that reason they were obliged to believe in the Law of Moses and to renounce the Law of Christ. To persuade them, the Jews quoted some excerpts of the Scriptures from a Holy Bible, explaining to Chacão the passages shown, which said that God had handed down the Law of Moses at Mount Sinai, had accomplished many miracles such as delivering the people of Israel from captivity in Egypt and sustaining them in the desert among many other miracles, and that this law was still in force and had never been abrogated, since the Messiah still hadn't arrived. For, according to the same law, it would exist until the moment that only one king and only one law existed, and that now there were many kings and many laws, which meant that the awaited Messiah had not yet come. Besides this passage, they referred to many others, which he

> [Chacão] did not exactly recall. And the Jews that tried most to convince him to become Jewish was the *Gagão* called Izac Aboac [*sic*] . . . and some others that he will name together or individually in this confession. They applied themselves in such a way until December 10th or 12th, when persuaded by the given reasons and believing that the Law of Moses was better than the Law of Christ, he [Chacão] extracted the latter law from his heart and placed his belief in the Law of Moses.[38]

Such an action led to severe marital problems for Chacão. In the end, he decided to convert to Judaism on December 20, only after his wife had abandoned him, "because she was never convinced by the Jews and their wives who talked with her about [the necessity] of believing in the Law of Moses." Although he wasn't yet circumcised, Chacão was able to participate in religious services at the synagogue. However, this status was tolerated only for some months. The following March, Chacão was informed that his presence in the synagogue would no longer be permitted until he had completed the initiation ceremony, which finally took place on the twenty-fifth day of the same month. Isaac Aboab and another official, "who lived from performing circumcisions," conducted the ceremony, in the presence of some other Jews who held "two or three lit torches." After reciting prayers, the men collected alms for charity. Miguel Rodrigues Mendes, a merchant also from Trancoso, was Manoel's "godfather." During the ceremony, he received the new name of Isaac Habib.[39]

These two men were among various people who eventually chose to return to the Catholic faith in which they had been raised, preferring, for sentimental, religious, or economic reasons, to deny the faith inculcated by strict Jews. Their example does not mean that all men who embraced Judaism in Dutch Brazil regretted their act afterward and reverted to the Catholic Church. Many people, including the aforementioned Miguel Rodrigues Mendes, openly accepted Judaism in Pernambuco before later emigrating to Holland or other territories where Judaism was permitted.[40]

Jews who tried to convince New Christians that they should return to their ancestors' faith sometimes adopted indirect approaches. Thus, in 1636 or 1637, Gaspar Rodrigues, a shopkeeper in Recife who had long before "returned" to Judaism asked Pedro da Costa Caminha, a New Christian, to send him a box of sugar for Passover. On the same occasion, Rodrigues invited Caminha to come and eat "a very fat lamb." He further lent a Bible (most likely a Jewish Bible in Spanish) to Caminha, no doubt hoping that the latter would become more familiar with his ancestors' history.[41] When Gaspar invited Pedro to attend Passover seder, it was as if he intended to make Pedro ill at ease in front of a certain Miguel Fernandes de Sá, who was also present in the shop (and who related later the event). However, "Pedro da Costa, distressed [by the witness constantly], gazing at him, answered nothing to the Jew. The words uttered [by Gaspar] did not give him a good impression, for if they had been said to an innocent man, he would have flown off the handle and not kept silent as he did, [evidently feeling] ashamed of him having heard them."[42] Six or seven years later, Gaspar, ostensibly in need of his loaned Bible, asked the shoemaker Antônio Nogueira, a resident of Ipojuca who was passing through Recife, to tell "Pedro da Costa to send me the Bible, since we need it for our upcoming holy day." The message was not transmitted, but if it had been, Pedro would have been compelled to admit to Nogueira that he was a Jew.[43] It is unlikely that a Jew living in Recife, where the main synagogue was located, needed to recover his Bible to take part in festivities. Surely a practicing Jew such as Gaspar often read his Bible. More likely, his request was a pretext to let people know that da Costa had a Jewish Bible.

Inquiring about the lives of certain New Christians can also be seen as a kind of pressure, as it could make public a discreet Jewish behavior or attachment. While paying a visit to the aforementioned relatives of Pedro da Costa, the "Valenças," a Jewish merchant named Daniel Cardoso asked a neighbor about his impression of those ladies. Would Daniel Cardoso have been a business acquaintance of the Valenças? What was he doing at their house? The informant, a certain Bento Rodrigues da Chamusqua, replied that he thought the Valenças (whom he claimed were his friends) were Jewish but that he did not have a formed opinion of Pedro da Costa Caminha. Pedro da Costa and his family's unorthodox behavior will be discussed later in more detail. For the time being, his story illustrates some of the different kinds of pressure Jews could exert—in a casual manner that would not offend their "disciples"—on New Christians to persuade them to become integrated into the organized Jewish community.

Manoel Calado, a keen contemporary observer, alludes repeatedly to such means of pressure when he reported that

> it was a common subject of conversation among the Jews (according to what I've heard many times), that there were no men of the Nation in Pernambuco who were not Jews, and that if they did not openly declare themselves as such, it was because they feared that the situation would change and Portugal would regain the territory, for if not, they would have already declared themselves all to be Jews . . . but I think that the Jews say these things as a way of discrediting the honorable and true Christian men of the Nation of good reputation, who are adverse to their wickedness and determination. Unless proved untrue, I think that the men of the Nation living in Pernambuco who do not follow the Law of the Jews and have not abandoned their faith in Christ, are even more observant, considering the fact that they might have strayed, but chose not to. I say they are true Christians, and good ones, and for that they should be known and highly esteemed.[44]

Nevertheless, Calado also declared that "as righteous as they shall seem, the men of the Nation should not be trusted, even though I cannot deny that some men of this Hebrew Nation have behaved as true Christians . . . even if the Jews from Recife told those who listened to them that all men of the Nation in Pernambuco and its surrounding areas were Jews."[45] These contrasting statements demonstrate the uncertainty about the religious affiliations of some people, while also revealing Calado's prejudices. Affirming that many New Christians behaved like good Catholics, Calado yet thought that their outward demeanor could not always be trusted. This lack of confidence in them helps explain why New Christians were frequently (falsely) accused of being the cause of the Dutch invasions or of having helped the invaders.[46] In fact, Jews carefully publicized situations that represented no more than potential conversions of the region's New Christians. In divulging that all New Christians were Jews, members of the community might have finally succeeded in making some Catholic New Christians believe that they were exceptions and that they should accept the Jewish mission and "return" to the faith of their forefathers.

In 1637, Salvador das Neves, an ancient Jew and informer to the Inquisition, denounced some people who had openly declared themselves to be Jewish. He mentioned Ambrósio Vieira, his son-in-law Manoel Rodrigues da Costa, and his nephew João Nunes do Paço as judaizers who were not yet circumcised, "frightened as they were of Spain recovering Brazil." He named Ambrósio Vieira a second time, together with Baltazar da Fonseca and Gaspar Francisco, when he reported hearing some Jews saying, in 1634 or 1635, that the three aforementioned New Christians lived according to the Law of Moses, but discreetly. Salvador das Neves specified then "that the Jews from Amsterdam declare and feel certain that almost all men of the Nation of this kingdom [of Portugal] live according to the Law of Moses, and that they don't travel to Holland to publicly become Jews due to their private interests here. Regarding the number of New Christians who have immigrated to those places [the United Provinces], who openly practice Judaism after having suffered through circumcision, as well as their correspondence with the New Christians inhabiting this kingdom, he esteems that it is true that almost all of them live according to the Law of Moses."[47]

Hence, Jewish "propaganda" had concrete results, leading New Christians, Catholics, and also Jews to believe that (almost) all New Christians were actually judaizers.[48] The question can then be asked if it really was a rumor consciously spread by the Jews, or if they also believed in what they said about New Christians. The former supposition seems the more accurate, since Jews from both Amsterdam and Recife knew that there were good Catholics among their relatives living in the Iberian world.[49]

Jews from Holland made some allowances for New Christians who approached Judaism. In Paraíba the local "pseudo-synagogue" permitted uncircumcised New Christians to attend communal services; their admission was made easier by the lack of a formal congregation. The synagogues of Recife and Mauritia did not admit uncircumcised men indefinitely, as the case of Manoel Gomes Chacão reveals, and would not accept them as *yahid* before their circumcision. Rules were undoubtedly more flexible in the informal communities. In Paraíba, the distance from the leaders of Recife's official community made it easier for Jews to bring their New Christian neighbors back to their forefathers' faith.

Although not fully entitled members of the community, these New Christians were more than mere spectators. Ambrósio Vieira, his son-in-law Manoel Rodrigues da Costa, and his nephew João Nunes do Paço, none of them circumcised, followed the texts read in Hebrew by Moisés

Peixoto thanks to a book in "Portuguese letters," that is, in Latin script.[50] The book was more likely in Spanish than in Portuguese, for that was the traditional language of the liturgical works printed in Amsterdam, as witnessed by the Spanish-language liturgical book given by Simão de Leão to his "disciple" Pedro de Almeida. In any case, the three neophytes could not have had access to such texts without the help of Jews. This case was not an exception, as Gaspar Rodrigues lent a Bible (certainly not in Hebrew) to Pedro da Costa Caminha. The participation of Ambrósio Vieira in the community's life did not end with his attending of Sabbatical lectures. Upon at least one occasion, he also made a donation (in this case, a bundle of sugar) "to the poor Jews of Amsterdam."[51]

The same proximity of declared Jews and judaizing New Christians can be verified in Ipojuca. Miguel Soares, an Old Christian inhabitant of the São João sugar plantation, recalled having seen on many occasions, in 1643 or 1644, Pedro da Costa Caminha at the house of three Jews: Jacob Soares, David Paredes, and Isaac Serrano: "He saw them lying down altogether on a bed, and on another occasion, while returning from church on Ash Wednesday, he passed in front of the Jews' door when Pedro da Costa Caminha asked him if he didn't want to dine upon a *compeba* (a fish from Brazil) with them. He entered the house, and they showed him a roasted turkey. However, since it was a day of fasting, he left. He [Miguel Soares] also saw once Pedro da Costa in the company of the Jews, at night, at one of their celebrations in which they wore white fabric upon on their heads, bleating like goats, and doing other things he could not distinguish."[52] The mention of them lying altogether on a bed is hard to understand, and the dislocated mention of the roasted turkey dish shows only that Pedro did not respect the Catholic day of fast. But the description of the "fabric upon their heads" (the ceremonial *tallith*) and the mention of the singing (they were "bleating like goats") suggests that, even if not an official member of the community, Pedro participated in Jewish festivities organized in little Ipojuca by the three Jews. Unfortunately, Miguel Soares is not precise enough for us to guess at the specific occasion of this gathering.

Although New Christian women were never mentioned as taking part in any assembly, Jews would sometimes go to the homes of women for ceremonial events. Thus Bernardino de Brito, a neighbor of the Valença-Caminha family, reported having heard "some Jews at the Salgado sugar plantation say 'we'll do Shabbat at the house of the Valenças,' referring to Pedro da Costa's mother, grandmother, cousins, and aunts. The Jews would go there and not return until Sunday."[53] It is difficult to know if this situation was a reflection of real segregation by the Jews between male and female "disciples," or if it was a matter of proper etiquette, in a traditional patriarchal society, for men to visit women at their homes instead of vice versa. At any rate, this episode demonstrates that, aside from the obvious socialization role these visits had for the Jews—newcomers seeking economic contacts in order to establish themselves locally—they also provided a means of approaching, on a religious level, New Christians, who, in keeping with the ideals of Amsterdam's "Portuguese," needed to return to their ancestors' faith.

These proselytizing attempts were not always successful, but the Valenças seem to have taken advantage of Jewish example to improve their ceremonial rituals. As Bento Rodrigues Chamusqua noted to an inquisitorial emissary,

> at the homes of these women, he frequently found one of them reading a small book, smaller than a bedside [?] breviary, while the others listened very attentively. Upon his arrival, they would promptly hide themselves, and so he couldn't see what kind of book it was, if it was manuscript or printed, or if the prayer was in Latin, Portuguese or any other language. He knew they concealed themselves in their room, and sometimes on a high terrace, washing their hands first. During this time, one of them would stay outside chatting with him. His reason for stopping by this house so often was that he had an illicit relation for 14 years with a *mulatto* woman named Luísa, the now deceased slave of Branca de Valença, although he also became a friend of the household. He heard these women say many things he couldn't recall precisely, but upon reflection [he concluded] that the women were more influenced by the Law of the Jews than of that of Christ Our Lord. During the many conversations he [Chamusqua] had with them about confession, they made fun of it and revealed that what they said during one confession, they repeated in all the others. When they fell ill, as he witnessed on various occasions, he never heard them invoke Jesus' name or perform acts demonstrating that they were Christian. He lived right next door to them in upon a parcel of cane-producing land [of the Salgado sugar-mill], and upon

> returning from Mass, they would ask him why he tired himself going to hear it, saying to him: "How you fool yourself!" In view of these occurrences, and also because the *mulatto* woman he used to see had told him they were Jewesses, and that when one of them read from a book they all rose before sitting right down again, he arrived at the conclusion that they were Jewesses. . . . Of their personal relations, he claimed he was their friend, and known to them, but what he said is nevertheless true.[54]

Firsthand descriptions of crypto-Jewish ceremonies rendered in such detail are rare. Ceremonial details, of greater and lesser importance, such as rising up during the reading of certain liturgical passages, the ablutions before prayer, or the "breviary" (probably a Jewish ceremonial book given to them by a member of the official community) provide evidence of rituals learned under the influence of practicing Jews. In addition, apparently the Valenças observed Shabbat without engaging in their habitual sewing, wore holy-day clothes on this occasion, and even kept their slaves from working on Saturdays, strictly respecting in that way the sacred day of rest. Moreover, they "did not eat shrimp or *mussuas* (similar to the eels of Portugal) or other similar foods," demonstrating a knowledge of kosher restrictions unusual among average judaizers.[55] However, in spite of these openly Jewish habits, the Valenças did not integrate themselves into Recife's Jewish community. Instead, they maintained a public façade of Catholicism.

By 1645, after many years of struggle, the Luso-Brazilian forces had reconquered the majority of Dutch territories. They then laid siege to Recife, the Batavian capital, which finally succumbed in 1654. According to the Taborda capitulation agreements, members of Recife's Jewish community were to be considered as any other subjects of the United Provinces, with the same rights as the Dutch. They were given three months to liquidate their assets and leave the territories that thereafter would be Portuguese. A number of historians have assumed that the entire community left. After encountering difficulties in finding enough vessels, so the standard story goes, all Jews were finally able to leave Brazil bound for Amsterdam or other Dutch territories in the Americas, such as Aruba or New Amsterdam.[56] In fact, however, some Jews chose to remain in Brazil, even under Portuguese and Catholic rule.

This reconversion phenomenon occurred in many phases and cannot simply be related to the Dutch defeat, since reports of Jews converting to Catholicism can be traced back to the beginning of the 1640s. That Jews who were once part of Recife's community opted for Portuguese Catholicism is surprising, but not extraordinary among the Nation's members. After all, some judaizing New Christians preferred to remain on the margins of the official synagogues while observing some Jewish rites; and at least some of these judaizers continued in the northeast after the Dutch defeat. Some circumcised Jews remained in post-1654 Brazil of their own free will.

In his report on the Luso-Brazilian insurrection, Manoel Calado noted that some Jews, who had apparently never been Christian, sought instruction in order to convert to Catholicism. In his chapter on the beginning of the revolt, Calado states that he had received information concerning a Dutch plan to invade the camp of João Fernandes Vieira, one of the rebel captains. This information came from a "Jew he was catechizing with great care in order to bring him to the law of the Christ Our Lord and baptize him, as he had already done with seven other [men] of the same Hebrew Nation, two of which he had sent to the Inquisitor General in Portugal, with the help of Bahia's governor Antônio Telles da Silva, since they had told him they wanted to live in Portugal where the law of Christ was properly respected. Since all that was lacking for this Jew to become Christian was the holy baptism, he revealed the Dutch plans to Father Manoel, his catechism master, who immediately sent a warning to João Fernandes Vieira."[57] At least two of those Jews are recognizable: the above mentioned Isaac de Castro who, during a legal deposition in Bahia, acknowledged having confessed "once in Recife to brother Manoel dos Óculos [Calado's nickname] who asked him if he was baptized"; and Miguel Francês.[58]

Miguel Francês was born in Lisbon circa 1611 but left Portugal, traveling north, with his parents, brothers, and sisters when he was fifteen. At La Bastide, the first village after the French border, his father revealed to him their Jewish origins. Henceforth, the family began to behave as "believers and observers" of the Law of Moses. From La Bastide, Miguel went to Calais, then Antwerp, arriving two years later in Amsterdam, where he was finally circumcised. He rejoined his father and the rest of the family in Hamburg after three years and lived there for the next eight or ten years. About 1639, he sailed to Brazil, first living in Recife and then at the Várzea (in the outskirts of Recife), where he met Manoel Calado, who offered him confession and absolved him of his Jewish past before reintegrating him into the Church.[59]

Miguel Francês was arrested at the beginning of the Restoration, in January 1645, and sent directly to the inquisitors in Lisbon.[60] Under questioning, he confessed that he had chosen to revert to Catholicism of his own free will and that Father Calado had told him that he had the authority to convert him. Nevertheless, Francês was obliged to appear at the auto-da-fé of December 15, 1647, due to "the public nature of his profession of Judaism in the northern parts of Brazil." Thanks to his reintegration into Catholicism, led by Calado, he did not have to wear the penitential outfit after the auto-da-fé.[61] On March 4, 1648, he received permission to recover his books that had been confiscated (he was an accountant) and was allowed to return to Brazil.[62]

The beginnings of Antônio Henrique's story are similar to Miguel's. Born in Antequera in Andalusia, at the age of seven or eight he and his siblings were taken by his parents to Saint Jean-de-Luz, in southwestern France. They lived there for about a year, during which time they revealed their Judaism. In May 1617, the family arrived in Amsterdam, where Antônio, his father, and his brothers were circumcised by Rabbi Aram Levi (Antônio became Isaac Israel Henriquez, and then Isaac Cohen Henriquez), and the women of the family took the ritual bath. Fourteen years later, Antônio Henrique headed to Hamburg to marry Abigail de Lima, a Jewish woman born in Venice.[63] They had three children who did not survive infancy, and Abigail seems also to have died, since two years later Antônio was back in Amsterdam, for a time living in the town of Ende (Emden?). In 1637, he set sail for Recife, where he lived until his imprisonment by the vicar-general of Pernambuco, Antônio Velho da Gama in 1660. Velho da Gama arrested him thinking Antônio was "simply a circumcised"—that is, that he had never been baptized—in order to send him to the inquisitors who would finally expel him "from these kingdoms."[64] But Antônio told the vicar-general that he had been baptized in his childhood and that he wished to be reintegrated (*reduzido*) into Catholicism.[65] Once in Lisbon, Antônio told the inquisitors that since 1653 he had lost faith in Judaism but that he continued to act as a Jew for fear of his enemies. It was only with the Restoration (in 1654) that he became a Catholic without fear of retaliation, publicly demonstrating his faith and attending church. Antônio claimed that he confided in successive vicar-generals, who told him that he could not be absolved but that they would write to the inquisitors relating his case. He waited for an answer, which never came.[66] His was a typical example of those who "let themselves stay," without apparently having a well-established religious belief. Ultimately, his case was judged favorably by the inquisitors and he abjured his past Jewish beliefs during the auto-da-fé of September 17, 1662. The penitential outfit and his prison sentence were suspended the following October 10.

Some men, such as Manoel Lopes Seixada or José da Silva, reacted to the Restoration by choosing to remain and convert to Catholicism after the Portuguese reconquest. Manoel Lopes Seixada was a mulatto born in Lisbon or Abrantes, married in Recife (probably to a Jewess), and he had undergone circumcision during the Dutch occupation. He had even held a post, although a minor one, in Recife's synagogue, as the congregation's beadle.[67] Following the Restoration, Manoel Lopes Seixada stayed in Recife among the Portuguese and was reconverted to Catholicism by the Jesuits.[68] José da Silva was accused of having fled to Holland during an inquisitorial inquiry carried out in Ipojuca in 1652. In 1660, during an Episcopal inspection in Recife, he was among several people accused of having admitted openly to being a Jew and then staying in Brazil as a Catholic.[69] Nevertheless, only after receiving another denunciation from Ipojuca against José, dated May 1673, did the Lisbon inquisitors initiate a specific inquiry of him.[70] The investigation, carried out in Olinda by Antônio Velho da Gama, confirmed what had been said thirteen years before: José da Silva had lived in Ipojuca with his family until the age of twenty-three, when he moved to Recife. According to witnesses of the 1660 visit, José had been circumcised there (Baltazar Coelho, a resident of Recife, reported that he was in town on the day of the circumcision, when José was given the name of Abraham).[71] But according to the majority of the witnesses of the 1674 inquiry, José had been circumcised in Amsterdam, returning some time thereafter to Recife, where he "went to the synagogue with the other [Jews] and participated in the Jews' ceremonies." This discrepancy may be not merely the result of a chronological gap between both testimonies but also an unconscious means that the witnesses of 1674 used to distance themselves from the memory of the heretical acts committed in their town. In any case, "he became a Jew in 1648 or 1649, when the Dutch were masters of the countryside, and he lived as a Jew until 1654, when our weapons reconquered Recife," said a Portuguese witness.[72] José then returned to Ipojuca, but "ashamed in the presence of his acquaintances, he traveled to Rio de São Francisco," where he found a job as a cowherd.[73] The last news of him found him further south, at the Torre de Garcia d'Ávila, in Sergipe, or in Maragogipe, Bahia, where he was working as a producer of liquor.[74] In 1660, there was supposedly an arrest warrant put out for José da Silva, but apparently he was never found, since in 1674 the inquisitors ordered a new investigation of him.[75]

Among other cases of conversions to Catholicism, Jácome Faleiro is the only one who seems to have experienced a Jewish birth and upbringing, being then a Jew converted to Catholicism and not a New Christian returning to his ancient faith, like those mentioned before.[76] By the time of the episcopal inspection of 1660, he was living in Porto Calvo with his wife and children. Of four witnesses, only one claimed that Faleiro was from Venice, but they all agreed that he had arrived from Holland as a Jew. None of them, however, was able to say how he became a Catholic, and the only witness to testify that he had been baptized gave evidence to suppose that his conversion occurred after his arrival in Brazil; he might have been one of Calado's catechumens.[77] Jácome Faleiro certainly changed his name after baptism, being probably the João Batista mentioned by Pedro de Almeida as a Jew from Amsterdam baptized in Brazil who lived "Catholically" at the Pontal de Nazaré (a place not far from Porto Calvo) with his wife.[78]

There may have been many other cases of members of the Recife Congregation who stayed in Brazil as Catholics, and the examples given do not embrace all Jews returning or converting to Catholicism. In a letter Antônio Velho da Gama sent to the inquisitors along with Antônio Henrique and the testimonies from the 1660 inquiry, the vicar-general noted that "many other [baptized Jews] might still [be found] in this country, but it's difficult to know with certitude (only those having attended synagogue might know), considering that, being born and baptized in [these lands], they would always hide from the local people who had come to Recife in peaceful times. There are also many others who were baptized here and then, following the Restoration, departed for Holland to live there as Jews. These persons will be named at your will, since they might still come back here, or [go] to Portugal."[79] The Portuguese crown was also aware of the existence of judaizers in Pernambuco and "other regions further north" after the Dutch defeat: in 1669, the Portuguese ambassador to Rome received instructions asking for the nomination of an ecclesiastic administrator for these regions "because of the habits and doctrines left there by Jews and Dutch."[80]

The notion of a Portuguese Jewish nation implied a sharp differentiation between Jew and Christian both to those within the community and to those outside it (i.e., the so-called Old Christians). Nevertheless, for all practical purposes, a majority of the Nation's members was, in fact, Catholic. If the Portuguese Old Christians could accept the existence of a Catholic New Christian (and this acceptance was often grudging), such was not the case for the people of the Nation who openly practiced Judaism. Ideally, all people of the Nation were supposed to leave the "lands of idolatry," and even the "lands of liberty" such as southern France, and return to the "lands of Judaism," where they could fulfill their destinies as Jews. In Holland (or Hamburg, Venice, etc.), Jews had little means of influencing their fellows living in the Iberian world; a good number of those who migrated to regions that permitted Judaism were thus predisposed to revert to their original practices. In Dutch Brazil, the situation was different, since Jews there could find raw material, as it were, among New Christians to expand their communities. In order to successfully accomplish their mission, however, Jews had to mobilize effectively. They had to adopt a variety of strategies to help those willing to return to Judaism. Sometimes, they had to be aggressive as a way of persuading a public that, despite comprising people of the Nation, was not necessarily predisposed to abandoning Catholicism.

The Jewish mission in Brazil was thus fated to have mixed results, more uncertain than in Amsterdam or Hamburg, even if at times certain Jews contested the synagogal establishment and even though conversions to Christianity were fairly common.[81] The ease with which some could straddle religions in Dutch Brazil explains why so many people chose not to make the long trip toward the "lands of Judaism" and why others still, who were not judaizers, had temporary experiences with Judaism. Some adapted themselves to normative Judaism, and in these cases the Jewish mission was a success. Yet at other times, the missionaries' final goals were not met: some people ended up remaining faithful to the Church while continuing to practice Jewish rites, such as the Valenças. Moreover, the ease with which certain individuals could convert to Judaism made it just as easy for recent converts to forsake the Law of Moses and return to Catholicism.

How, then, can the New Christians' movements between Judaism and Catholicism be explained? Perhaps the shrewd contemporary commentator Manoel Calado can provide some answers. In explaining why he himself had stayed in occupied territories, Calado pointed out that a priest in such regions was absolutely necessary, in order "to preach [to the local people] the word of God, and [to] exhort [them] to persevere in the Roman Catholic faith." Calado continued by saying that "if he hadn't stayed there, many would have died without confession, and the pusillanimous would have hesitated in their faith and fallen into committing many errors and heresies."[82] Later, Calado blamed "Calvinists and Lutherans" for their "error and heresies," but he no doubt had Jews in mind as well. In Calado's eyes, the disorganization of the Catholic hierarchy in Dutch Brazil was partially responsible for these movements.

More than anything else, sociological, religious and familial issues help to explain why many New Christians who had "returned" to Judaism did not adapt. In 1639, the *licenciado* Feliciano Dourado and the Carmelite monk Tomás Falagre (both of whom lived in Paraíba prior to the conquest) presented themselves to the inquisitors in Lisbon to report on some matters under their jurisdiction. The *licenciado* said he had met a certain Antônio Carvalho, the chaplain of the University in Coimbra, whom he would reencounter some years later in Paraíba, "wearing secular clothes, no sword, a big beard, and looking very miserable and poor as are the judaizers of that country." According to Dourado, "Antônio Carvalho [had told him that he] had taken part in an auto-da-fé in Coimbra and that he later went to Castile, and from Castile to France, and from France to Amsterdam, where he was married and openly practiced the Law of Moses." Finally, Dourado noted that "he had changed his name and was now called Isaac." The *licenciado* went on to ask Carvalho "how he, a former priest, could abandon our Holy Catholic Faith and become a Jew?" Shedding tears, Carvalho failed to reply. Some months later, the Carmelite Falagre denounced Antônio as well, claiming that he had upon several occasions met a certain man in his cloister in Paraíba. This man, who later turned out to be Antônio Carvalho, told Falagre that "his name was Isaac Nunes, and that God had inspired him to profess the Law of Moses. He . . . had been a priest and chaplain at the University of Coimbra for many years. He also affirmed that he had been imprisoned by the Inquisition of that city and was reconciled [with the Church]. At that time, he was a good Christian, but some time after, because of his miserable condition, he traveled to Amsterdam where he married a Jewess (whom he presented to the Carmelite). They lived together in front of the Carmelite cloister, where Antônio used to go and sing with the friars. He is a tenor; he sings well, but his voice is not very good."

After war broke out, Carvalho fled to the Caribbean, although by 1656 he was back in Amsterdam.[83] Were the tears Antônio shed tears of repentance or nostalgic longing for his Coimbra years? His comments to Dourado, and what he said pertaining to his being a "good Christian" prior to his imprisonment by the Inquisition, indicates that he would have preferred to remain a Catholic. So why did he convert? And why did he return to Amsterdam? He could have gone to any other Catholic country or even remained discreetly in Holland as a Catholic. After 1654, he also might have stayed in Brazil, but circumstantial problems—including his having resided in the Dutch fortress from the beginning of the revolt, among Jews and soldiers who would certainly not have accepted his defection easily—or possibly the fear of once again facing an Inquisition cell ultimately compelled him to return to Amsterdam. As such, it was presumably his New Christian identity rather than any religious conviction that caused him to accept Judaism and go back to Holland. When measured against the serious discrimination that he would have confronted had he returned to Catholicism, especially since he had already been stigmatized by his Jewish origins and had suffered an auto-da-fé, not to mention the likelihood that he would have been required to admit his past Jewish faith in public, it appears that the solidarity of the Nation's members in Amsterdam may have carried more weight.

In some ways, the case of Manoel Gomes Chacão is similar to that of Antônio Carvalho. Chacão embraced Judaism after receiving instruction from the Jews of Recife, even though his wife had refused to accompany him. He subsequently participated in all ceremonies of the official synagogue, but he had to be pressured to undergo circumcision, relenting only when Jewish officials threatened to deny him access to the synagogue. That was March 25, 1642. No more than a year later, he decided to return to Catholicism. Indeed, he later described the circumstances of his reconversion during a visit he paid to his former residence in Taquara, facing the island of Itamaracá: "Moved by the reprimands and questions posed by his friends about his abandoning the faith of Christ Our Lord; seeing that his wife and his sons persevered in it, and that his older son, João, had rejoined his mother four days after she had left them; but also scrutinizing his own conscience, [and] acknowledging the error in which he lived, he decided once more [*sic*] to abandon his faith in the Law of Moses and return to the faith of Christ Our Lord."[84] Chacão eventually went back to Recife. It was only at the end of August, having liquidated his businesses, that he returned to Taquara to begin the process of reintegration into the Church. Despite his change of heart, he was arrested in the name of the Inquisition in February or March of 1646. Following a trip through Bahia and a quick trial of less then a year, however, he finally received authorization to return home in March of 1648.

Thus, Chacão's decision to return to Catholicism was brought about by renewed contact with his old friends from Taquara, by seeing his wife and children again, as well as by some obvious lingering doubts. Apparently, Manoel Gomes Chacão was unable to live for a long time divided between the sense of solidarity offered by the Nation (the first argument the Jews made to persuade him to embrace Judaism was that he was a New Christian) and the ties binding him to his family and friends. Manoel's nostalgia for his earlier life, unlike Antônio Carvalho's, prevailed in the end. Antônio had a Jewish family, while Manoel had a Catholic wife and children.

Pedro de Almeida's case is almost identical to that of Manoel Gomes Chacão. His indoctrination into Judaism happened informally. During his return to Judaism, he often considered remaining a Catholic. He was dissuaded from doing so by the Jews, who reminded him of the alleged bonfire that awaited him if he returned to Portugal while alluding to the economic profits he could expect to reap from entering Simão de Leão's commercial network if he accepted Judaism. The salvation of his soul was also emphasized, since "only the Law of Moses was good for the salvation of the soul, and that the people [that told him that], believed in, lived for, and expected their salvation" as followers of that faith. Ultimately, both arguments persuaded him to embrace Judaism with more resolution. Nevertheless, once back in Brazil following his circumcision, the day-to-day contacts with "Catholic Portuguese and with his *compadres* who were all astonished at his having become Jewish . . . , but overall thanks to God and His great mercy, he decided to abandon his belief in the Law of Moses."[85]

Some of these "New Jews" returned to Catholicism before the beginning of the revolt. However, as in the cases of Jácome Faleiro or Antônio Henrique, the Restoration movement seems to have rekindled a desire to reconvert that, until then, had been latent. Faced with the prospect of finding themselves permanently tied to the Jewish group if they returned to Europe, these men preferred to stay in Brazil and try their luck under Portuguese authority. A chainlike movement also occurred. An initial reconversion could inspire the undecided to follow their predecessor's example. Reconversion to Catholicism might solve internal conflicts between a former Catholic life and a new life among Jewish brethren, resulting in greater distance from roots and earlier ties with friends and family. Thus some people born into Catholicism were unable to adapt to normative Judaism. It is then possible to infer that many "New New Christians," as it were, did not secretly obey Jewish rituals before they became integrated into the official Jewish community.

Such malleability is understandable. By converting either to Judaism or to Catholicism, many certainly knew that they were making a serious life commitment. Theologically, at least, there was no turning back. At the time, the decision to convert was never taken lightly. It meant accepting not only a new religious system but also the myriad concrete changes that regulated day-to-day life. The fear of not being able to adapt, combined with the prospect of an even greater transformation (i.e., immigration to Holland), caused many to privilege the sentimental bonds that tied them to local community groups and material concerns in lieu of racial identity and religious convictions. Such reactions demonstrate that religious identities cannot be attributed exclusively to spiritual considerations but instead owed much to sentimental, social, and economic factors. These factors seem to have determined some choices, with religion seemingly no longer an essential condition of life. Yet such liberty of choice, uncommon in Portuguese lands, was always attached to a religious identity, without which one could not exist within the early modern denominational society.

In many of the cases analyzed here, New Christians undoubtedly possessed an identification with Jews that allowed them to exist within the large spectrum of the people of the Nation. However, this identification accompanied other elements of their identity that held them back or even inverted the process of integration to normative Judaism, a process that was viewed by Jews as a "return." Indeed, relations between Jews and New Christians sometimes caused identity conflicts, which led to indecision and changes of mind, as in the cases of Manoel Gomes Chacão and Pedro de Almeida. In other instances, such as that of Ambrósio Vieira and his family, these contacts between New Christians and Jews ended up making subjects aware of their own deeply held and often concealed sentiments, which led in turn to their suffering inner dilemmas and seeking resolution of the doubts about their identity based on factors that transcended the religious fact of being Catholic or Jewish.

Although New Christians tended to identify with Jews and naturally gravitated to the so-called people of the Nation, the process of (re)integration to normative Judaism was never smooth and often involved reversals caused by other strong elements of those New Christians' identity, such as their family ties and their attachment to ancient sociabilities and their land. Thus, relations between Jews and New Christians sometimes caused conflicts, which led to indecisiveness and changes of mind. In fact, the people of the Nation never formed a monolithic group, and the various ways New Christians lived their Jewish identity were not easily transformed into the standardized and strict religious practices of the Portuguese Jews. The communities of Amsterdam or Hamburg were strongly structured, and Iberian newcomers of Jewish origin had little space to choose how they would relate to them. At the same time, the disorganization of the Catholic establishment and the meager power of the local Jewish community made religious identities fluid and flexible in the melting pot of Dutch Brazil.

CHAPTER EIGHT

A Matriarchal Matter

Slavery, Conversion, and Upward Mobility in Suriname's Jewish Community

AVIVA BEN-UR

IN 1720, JOSEPH PELEGRINO of Suriname petitioned the local authorities to recognize the manumission of his children, all procreated outside of legal marriage.[1] Simha, Jacob, and Mariana, he declared, were all of the Jewish religion, adopted as members of Suriname's Sephardic community by its teacher (*leraar*) and properly manumitted according to the rules of the Jewish "nation." Still, the senior Pelegrino fretted that their status and right to inheritance would not be accepted outside Jewish circles, since their laws were at times at variance with those of the Dutch colonial government. The court granted Pelegrino's request. The three children were thus declared "free of all slavery" and legitimized as his true descendants.[2]

Joseph, whether of "undiluted" Sephardic ancestry or himself a hybrid of the European Jewish and western African worlds, was a free member of Suriname's Sephardic community and evidence of the transformation of Jewish identity in this remote slave colony, far from the major rabbinical centers of Europe and the Ottoman Empire.[3] Pelegrino's children belonged to a marginal group whose demands and very existence challenged accepted definitions of Jewishness and whiteness. More broadly, they were members of a free colored class that, through steady population growth from the dawn of the nineteenth century, would eventually make inroads into the mainstream of colonial society.

This essay considers the ways in which Suriname's Sephardic Jews readjusted their definitions of communal belonging in a virtually unprecedented New World environment, where African-origin peoples formed the majority and Jews enjoyed a high degree of self-determination and autonomy. Beginning with Jewish settlement in the mid-seventeenth century, females of African descent were key to both community building and creolization. Their deceptively quiet presence in archival documents affirms their continued role in the community's transformation through the centuries.

Suriname, South America's smallest nation, is arguably the most ethnically diverse in the Caribbean, earning it the nickname "the land of seven peoples." This former Dutch colony, roughly the size of the U.S. State of Georgia and sandwiched between French Guiana and English-speaking Guyana, draws its heritage from pre-Columbian America, sub-Saharan Africa, Europe, India, China, and Indonesia.[4]

Jews were among the colony's first nonindigenous settlers. The earliest were of Iberian origin and began arriving in the 1650s from various parts of Europe, northern Africa, or other regions of the Americas. Under tolerant English (1650–67) and Dutch (1667–1975) colonial rule, they established an agrarian settlement in the midst of the Surinamese jungle, some fifty miles south of the capital city, Paramaribo. Situated along the Suriname River, this settlement developed into an autonomous village known as Jodensavanne (Jews' Savannah). By the mid-eighteenth century, Jodensavanne was surrounded by dozens of satellite Jewish plantations sprawling north- and southward and dominating the stretch of the river. These Jews owned plots, mostly devoted to the cultivation and processing of sugar and worked by African slaves; at the time, they collectively formed the largest Jewish agricultural community in the world and the only Jewish settlement in the Americas granted virtual self-rule. The setting—a self-determining Jewish village—represents one of the few situations in diaspora history in which the highest form of social climbing meant becoming a Jew, rather than a Christian or a Muslim.

Beginning in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, a combination of soil depletion, slave rebellions, maroon attacks, economic crisis, absentee landownership, and a ravaging fire led to the gradual demise of Jodensavanne, the abandonment of agricultural pursuits, and the definitive shift of Suriname's Sephardic community to the capital city. By the close of that century, the Sephardic transition to Paramaribo was nearly a fait accompli. By 1817, some 82 percent of the colony's Sephardic Jews made their home in Paramaribo, composing, along with the local Ashkenazi community, more than a third of the city's white population.[5]

Given the colony's demographic profile, the emergence of a colored Jewish population was nigh inevitable. The vast majority of Suriname's population (96 percent by the late eighteenth century) was both enslaved and of African origin.[6] This ratio remained stable throughout the following century, although the population of free coloreds steadily increased as a result of manumissions, mostly involving adult females.[7] By 1684, there were 4,200 African slaves living in Suriname, and the colony's 232 Jewish householders, who made up 28.6 percent of Suriname's European population, owned slightly more (30.3 percent, or 1,298) than their share of slaves. By 1705, the number of African-origin slaves in the colony climbed to 10,000, and in 1765 jumped to 50,000, captive on some 400 plantations.[8]

Like many early colonial American settlements, the Jewish community suffered a dearth of women. In 1684 Suriname's Jewish population comprised almost twice as many men as women, a pattern similar to that of the gentile European population, where 74 percent of the community was male. Such gender imbalance helped open the doors of both communities to "Suriname marriage," described as "the informal, but still permanent relationship concluded with some form of ceremony and ending with the death or departure of the white male." This Caribbean form of concubinage was characterized by sexual double standards, leading to an Afro-European population that could claim white descent mainly through the paternal line.[9] Moreover, the slave in colonial American society possessed no legal status. Official marriage between slaves and freemen was impossible, again leaving concubinage as an obvious resort.[10] African-origin women were thus a key component in the growth, survival, and redefinition of the Sephardi population.

The response of the *Mahamad* (Hebrew for "assembly"), the autonomous governing body of Suriname's Jews, to unions between white Sephardic Jews and their African-origin consorts was probably immediate, although the earliest extant evidence dates to thirteen years after the English became the first Europeans to establish a lasting colony on the Guianese coast. In 1663, Suriname's Jewish leaders affirmed the dichotomous social structure of their community, bifurcated between *jehidim* and *con-*

gregantes. Subsequent legislation clarifies that the Hebrew term *jahid* denoted in Suriname a full member of the Jewish community by virtue of his or her European descent. The *jahid*'s inferior was the *congregante,* a Portuguese word indicating "congregant." The congregant was either a full member, by virtue of his whiteness, who had been demoted to a lower social status as a penalty for marrying a female of African descent, or was himself or herself a Eurafrican Jew.[11] These social distinctions, at odds with rabbinical law, were patently inspired by Calvinist doctrine in the Dutch Republic, which distinguished between "members" and "followers."[12]

Like Dutch colonial law, Suriname's Jewish laws included no restrictions against extramarital miscegenation between white males and blacks or Eurafrican slaves. Only when Sephardic men attempted to formalize unions with former slaves did strict penalties accrue. Thus, mid-eighteenth-century ordinances stipulated that white men who married *mulatas,* "whether through our Holy Law or solely before the Magistrate, will then be discharged from their status as Jehidim, and immediately recorded as Congregantes, and in every single way considered mulatto." Affirming the plastic nature of race in the Caribbean, the Mahamad also stipulated that a "fallen" *jahid* could be readmitted with his family to his former social status provided that his children and grandchildren all married white women.[13] It may be tempting to regard the law relegating intermarried white men to the status of congregants as a prohibition against miscegenation. However, Suriname's Jewish community did not prohibit formal marriage between white male members and free African-origin consorts. It merely discouraged such nuptials through harsh penalties, which nevertheless did not exclude the offending couple from legitimate communal membership. Thus—and this must be emphasized in the face of scholarly misreadings of the legislation—formal nuptial relations between white men and free Eurafrican Jewesses were not forbidden, only discouraged through punishment. Significantly, *negras,* women deemed to be of "undiluted" African origin (and perhaps understood as slaves), are passed over in silence, either implying that no white man would ever contemplate formal marriage to a black woman or the legal impossibility of formalizing such a union.

Matrimonial alliances between Jewish women and African-origin freemen are not addressed in any of the Jewish ordinances. This ellipsis reflects the typically androcentric locution of such ordinances, but, once again, it is not accidental.[14] The scenario of a white woman seeking matrimony with a free Eurafrican Jew was apparently unspeakable in the Jewish community, a reflection of both "white male dominance and irreducible racism."[15] A fortiori, extramarital intercourse between European-origin women and (presumably enslaved) blacks or Indians was regarded a heinous crime by the larger ruling society. Colonial authorities reserved harsh punishment for such relations, considering this behavior, in a placard issued in 1711, "unnatural whoredom and adultery." Unmarried violators would be flogged and banished for life, while married women would also be branded, a punishment generally reserved for slaves. The promulgation of this law is a sure indication that such illicit unions did occur, and it is thus not surprising that two white Christian women were so accused in 1721.[16] Ten years later, the daughter of a Jewish planter admitted to a sexual relationship with an Indian and was duly expelled from the colony.[17] Thus, only when the typical gender roles were reversed can miscegenation be deemed to have been truly prohibited. The punishment of a white woman consorting with a black or Indian entailed not a mere loss of social status but rather her local eradication. She was completely eliminated from community membership as well as physically removed from the colony. By the 1760s and '70s such liaisons, while still rare in broader colonial society, were apparently no longer as severely censured as foreign sojourners suggest.[18]

The children of such transgressing Jewish women would have automatically been Jewish, since, according to rabbinical laws developed in the second century CE, Jewishness is transmitted through the mother. If Sephardic men had not sought to bring their enslaved children into the Jewish fold, the community would have had few, if any, Jewish mulattoes. The phenomenon of the colored Jew—at least initially, before Eurafrican Jewesses "muddied the waters"—was thus wholly an expression of a patriarchy that suppressed one of the main matriarchal aspect of rabbinical Judaism.[19]

It is perhaps not accidental that matrilineal descent in Judaism emerged after the destruction of Jerusalem's Second Temple. Once it became evident that the rebuilding of the Jewish Commonwealth was unlikely, Judaism was transformed into a "portable" religion, no longer reliant on the Temple as its political and ritual center, and rabbinical thought increasingly connected the idea of national salvation to acts of lovingkindness (*hesed*). Since in rabbinical literature women were thought to innately excel in this trait, as Susan Sorek has recently argued, patrilineal Jewish descent made way for the mother as the determinant of her child's national and religious identity.[20] By contrast, patrimonial descent in Suriname's Sephardic community was a reversal of this historic transition and no doubt reinforced by the patriarchal society that defined colonial Caribbean life.[21] Yet it also expressed a larger tendency among Hispano-Jewish colonists to resurrect laws and customs that had prevailed during the First and Second Commonwealth eras.[22] Perhaps nowhere is this more evident than in Caribbean Jewish religious ceremonies, which often understood the institution of slavery through the lenses of Jewish antiquity.

When the senior Joseph Pelegrino decided to enter his children into the covenant of Abraham in 1720, he might have had recourse to a prayer book similar to one first published in Amsterdam just nine years later. *Sefer Berith Yitshak* (The Covenant of Isaac) details instructions for circumcising and ritually immersing male and female slaves for conversion to Judaism. The ceremony, involving a ritual circumcisor (*mohel*) for boys, Hebrew prayers, a glass of wine, and ritual immersion for both sexes, closely followed the biblical commandment, "He that is born in thy house, and he that is bought with thy money, must needs be circumcised: and my covenant shall be in your flesh for an everlasting covenant."[23] Significantly, instructions for welcoming slaves into the bosom of Judaism are preceded by the explanation that this ceremony was practiced "when the Temple [still] existed."[24]

This rarely cited Hebrew literature suggests that bondmen and bondwomen in early modern times were officially allowed to convert to Judaism *as* slaves, during their enslavement. The appendix of ritual circumcisers at the end of *Sefer Berith Yitshak*, listed according to their city or colony of residence, confirms the intended "end users." A list of practitioners in the Sephardic communities of Amsterdam, The Hague, Naarden, London, Hamburg, and Bayonne, all centers where former crypto-Jews settled after their departure from the Iberian peninsula, hints at an extensive African Jewish presence in western Europe. Significantly, Curaçao and Suriname, the two leading American Jewish communities in the eighteenth century, are the only Caribbean centers included in this list.[25]

Similar prayer manuals, such as *Orden de Bendisiones* (Amsterdam, 1687), contain special formulas used in the purchase of slaves (*"bendicion de quando compran siervos"*).[26] Michael Studemund-Halévy argues that the Hebrew locution (*avadim*) confirms that slaves, rather than domestic servants, were the prospective converts.[27] The extent and geographical range of holdings of such prayer books is strongly suggestive of the relevance of slave conversions for various early modern Jewish communities.[28]

Jews seem to have taken the lead among whites in converting slaves to the household religion. White Christians in Suriname did not typically baptize their slaves until the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries, though an ordinance of 1733 required that masters instruct their slaves in Christianity *after* manumission.[29] The scattered references to the Christian conversion of African slaves beginning in the late seventeenth century specifically characterize the conversion phenomenon as rare.[30] Planters in particular objected to slave baptisms, feeling threatened by a gospel that preached equality and regarding slaves as inferior creatures by virtue of their "heathenism."[31] Only at the tail end of the eighteenth century were there signs that religious instruction for slaves was beginning to be considered praiseworthy, even linked to the economic success of sugar plantations. An early example was recounted in 1795 by David Cohen Nassy, a physician, political theorist, and historian, who praised an Englishman named Palmer for transforming his Surinamese plantation into a "sort of republic." Slaves were ruled according to laws that they themselves determined, which "brought as much honor to their hearts as to humanity." Palmer enlisted a few Moravian brothers to instruct his slaves in religious principles, including marriage, divorce, and inheritance laws. This English planter became, in short, "master, judge, priest, and father to his slaves."[32] The specific reference to Moravians renders the anecdote somewhat plausible. These brethren began their missionary activities in 1735, focusing mainly on the conversion of Native Americans and maroons in the colony's wilderness. Only in 1765 did they transfer to Paramaribo, in the face of ardent opposition by the Dutch Reformed Church and the colonial government, both generally averse to slave baptisms.[33] Still, most of their evangelizing was carried out among the Saramaka maroons after 1765, and their activities in the capital city did not proliferate until the 1820s.[34]

Suriname's Jewish regents, in contrast to many Jews not in leadership positions, actively sought to discourage the conversion of Eurafrican slaves to Judaism, perhaps remembering a similar ordinance from Brazil's Sephardic community passed in 1648.[35] In 1663, Suriname's Sephardic leaders ("the first founders of this congregation") decided to prohibit, under pain of excommunication, a *jahid* from circumcising male infants born to *jehidim* who had been relegated to the class of *congregantes*.[36] The ordinance not only denied the Jewishness of children issuing from what was presumably a white/colored relationship but also barred the fallen *jahid* from recapturing his elite status through the hypergamous marital choices of his children and grandchildren, a proviso that would appear in 1748.[37]

Most likely, the conversion of most slaves to Judaism involved not "saltwater slaves" but rather the progeny of European-origin Sephardim and their African consorts. It is thus not surprising that various references to slave conversion from the late seventeenth century through the nineteenth generally refer to Eurafricans. Isaac da Costa, a contemporary of the aforementioned Joseph Pelegrino, also converted his enslaved children to Judaism. In his last will and testament, drafted in 1725, he clarified that he had legitimately married his wife, who (not unusually) happened to be his cousin and bore the same name as his mother. The two produced no children, but da Costa was far from impotent. The bulk of the will is devoted to six young Eurafricans, whom he undoubtedly procreated with two or more of his slaves beginning in at least 1703: Rosa (21), Ismael (19), Simha (10), David (7), Hana (5), and a *muleca* (young black girl) named Aquariba, daughter of his late "negress, Assiba."[38] Da Costa affirmed that they all merited manumission by virtue of being "born in my house and from my female slaves, [by virtue of] the good service and loyalty that I had from their mothers, and [by virtue of] the inclination of said mulattos to be observant of our Holy Law and having received it willingly and with love." Here, again, these slaves were obviously converted to Judaism during their enslavement, for da Costa mentions that the males were already circumcised and the females baptized according to the Jewish rite (*bañadas*). Perhaps because they did not have European ancestry, the mothers did not merit manumission, but da Costa nonetheless conveys his gratitude for their loyal service, which implicitly included sexual relations.

Isaac da Costa not only manumitted his mulatto children but also made them slave owners in their own right, a not uncommon phenomenon in the Caribbean.[39] Ismael was bequeathed the negress Beatriz and her children, while David inherited the negress Serafina and her children, along with the negro Piche. His daughters, Rosa, Simha, and Hana also became slave owners. The bestowal of human property upon manumitted slaves, as Neville Hall suggests, discouraged them from forming political alliances with slaves with the intention of destroying the institution of slavery.[40] Da Costa's nonhuman property went to the boys. Ismael and David received one half of da Costa's house furniture, clothing, and cattle, plus the cultivated land and buildings he owned in Paramaribo (the master's nephews received the other half).[41] The will is remarkable in that it embodies the key elements of Suriname marriage: the "legitimate" wife is mentioned and even made a beneficiary (though the bequest she received was comparatively paltry). The illegitimate children also appear, though, for the sake of decorum, they are never explicitly mentioned as their master's children.

Given the case of da Costa's five Eurafrican children, one wonders if conversion accompanied by eventual manumission was a significant gateway into the Jewish community. The degree to which the Jewish community opened its doors to manumitted converts was likely a function of both place and time. While the community was still clustered around Jodensavanne, such conversions appear to have been rare, though the archival spadework has only just begun. Mortuary records for the Jewish rural community are misleading. They identify the burial of only ten non-*jehidim*: two laid to rest on the Cupij Plantation, off the Caxewinica Creek, and just eight interred at Jodensavanne.[42] The vast majority of non-*jehidim* (89, or about 90 percent) was buried in Paramaribo. However, it would be erroneous to conclude, based on this evidence, that the mulatto Jewish phenomenon was largely urban, inasmuch as extant records focus on the late eighteenth century and beyond, precisely when Suriname's Jews were transitioning from the jungle interior to Paramaribo.[43]

Still, there are hints that the incidence of children born of "mixed" ancestry and officially accepted in the community as *congregantes* proliferated in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Before 1777, the starting date of the most comprehensive communal registers, it was superfluous (or unadvisable, in keeping with public decorum) to identify decedents by race in birth and death registers. Matrilineal descent was also irrelevant: in terms of identifying the child, only the father was mentioned as parent. But in 1777, cantor Mendes Quiros died and passed on his administrative staff to his successor, cantor David Hezkiahu Baruh Louzada, who began to carefully note both racial and social status. This was about two decades after the mulatto Jewish brotherhood Path of the Righteous has been established (1759) and about a decade and a half before a group of colored Jews asserted themselves and rebelled against the religious constrictions imposed upon them by white Jews (early 1790s).[44] In the registers initiated by Baruh Louzada, both father and mother are noted; in the case of most colored Jews, only the mother is mentioned. Apparently, then, the increase in colored community members stimulated a transition back to matrilineal descent, offering another explanation for the apparent proliferation of mulatto Jews beginning in the late eighteenth century.[45]

In the absence of reliable government statistics, the record books kept by cantor David Baruh Louzada offer an approximation of Suriname's colored Jewish population. The first of 1,371 entries dates to 1778, the last to 1835. Between 1779 and 1824 the deaths of 99 Jews of non-*jahid* status were recorded. The overwhelming majority were identified as *congregantes,* while 3 were named as mulattoes and 1 as a Jewish slave.[46]

The statistics of this fairly representative community profile show that 7.2 percent of the members were lower status members, likely of African origin, between 1778 and 1835. Phrased another way, more than one out of every fourteen Sephardic Jews in Suriname over the course of roughly half a century was of African origin or lowered to a congregant status through marriage to a descendant of Africa. This statistic, which cannot possibly reflect every fringe member of the community, patently contradicts a study of health conditions in Suriname, published during World War II. This publication tried to assure readers that the plague of racial "impurity" was not a risk for potential Jewish immigrants fleeing Nazi-occupied Europe. Jewish intermarriage in Suriname with coloreds, the authors argued, almost always involved a Jewish man and a colored woman. "Reciprocal crosses," they maintained, "hardly ever occur. And since children born of a non-Jewish mother cannot become members of the Jewish community, the members of this community . . . are of pure Jewish and, consequently, of pure white descent. And these constitute the families which have been living and multiplying in Surinam for many generations."[47] Such statements mirror a public veneer carefully constructed by Suriname's Jewish community since its formation in the mid-seventeenth century. Even if Jews did mingle sexually with blacks and mulattoes, their hybrid descendants allegedly did not infiltrate the community.

Statistics cannot transmit the qualitative dimensions of slave conversion and manumission in the Jewish community. Among these converts was Jaba, a black woman whose name suggests an African birthplace or strong cultural ties to Africa. Jaba was the slave of Abraham Haim Nunes Henriquez and perhaps also his concubine. David, the child they apparently produced together in July 1813, bore the master's last name and was circumcised after thirteen days as a free person. Baby David may have been named to honor the man who brought him into the Jewish covenant, cantor David Hisquiahu Baruh Louzada.[48] Perhaps the senior David served as the baby's godfather, reflecting active efforts of slaves and free blacks to raise their social status and secure mentors and protectors from Jewish society's elite members. The fictive kinships created by such liaisons, popular in slave cultures of the Caribbean and the American South, broadened the otherwise constricted circles that connected African-origin peoples socially to whites.[49] Just nine years later, one Sarah Roldão, a Jewish slave (*Escrava Judia*), passed away and was buried in the old Sephardi cemetery in Paramaribo.[50] In November of 1832, seven years after the abolishment of Jewish communal autonomy, Abraham de Leon informed Sephardic leaders that his mulatta slave, Louise, "was inclined toward embracing the Judaic religion," and requested that she be converted, promising to free her as soon as the ceremony ended. The authorities granted his request.[51]

Similar is the case of the freed mulatta Eva van Robles, apparently the former slave of Moses Robles de Medina Jr., who expressed her desire to "be admitted to professing the Judaic religion in our Portuguese congregation." She must have written her request during Elul, the Hebrew month of repentance. On September 7, 1819, the Mahamad, convened at Jodensavanne, read her persuasive letter. In it she affirmed that she had never professed any other religion and produced a declaration from two *jehidim* to that effect. Her final request was that the Mahamad authorize the First Cantor of the congregation to "conduct for her the necessary ceremonies according to her request and desire." The absence of her former master (or father?) shows that she took the initiative. Despite the dry legalese, the regents appear to have been genuinely moved in their letter of response. The Mahamad acted quickly and succinctly, "not being able to deny the request of the said Eva, and on the contrary, embracing her through [our permission], with the authorization of the First Hazan of the congregation, to receive said Eva in our religion and effect the necessary ceremonies."[52] On September 15, at the age of forty, Eva became Jeudith Hava Robles. Her conversion entry, like those of dozens of other black and Eurafrican Jews, appears in the communal birth register, emphasizing her baptism as a rebirth.[53] Eva/Jeudith Hava may have shared an experience with New Christians reverting to Judaism, who sometimes described their conversion as akin to receiving a new soul. When Spanish-born Abraham Gabay Izidro, who served as Suriname's *hakham* in the 1730s, returned to Judaism in London, he felt he had received a "new spirit."[54]

The conversion process could also heavily tax the female convert. Mariana Levy—who was apparently partly descended from Jews—was required to shave her head, cut her nails, and discard her "heathen clothing" before being "incorporated into the true Jewish religion" on March 14, 1799. Only after this process was she allowed to marry Samson according to Jewish law. The couple's "wedding present," in consonance with communal ordinances drafted in the mid-eighteenth century, was the revocation of the groom's *jahid* status. Samson protested in vain the Mahamad's decision some two weeks later, maintaining that his wife "belonged to the fourth class of white blood and therefore was not in the category" vulnerable to social demotion.[55] Levy's harsh experience suggests that even for converts with some Jewish ancestry the path back into the Jewish community was sometimes strewn with thorns.

As we have seen, conversion of blacks and mulattoes in Suriname's Jewish community often took place during enslavement. Somewhere along the line the Jewish community decided that no slave could convert before manumission. In the early nineteenth century, the colonial government passed a law stipulating that slaves could only be manumitted if they embraced a religion. This left Jewish masters between a rock and a hard place: how could Jewish masters desiring to both manumit and convert their slaves to Judaism accomplish their goals?

The aforementioned Abraham de Leon was one such master. In November 1832 he petitioned the *parnassim* of Beraha VeSalom, now headquartered in Paramaribo, concerning his slave, Louisa, who, he claimed, was "inclined to embrace the Jewish religion." The problem was that, according to the Jewish community's laws, she could not be admitted to the Mosaic faith without having first obtained her freedom. Meanwhile, the "laws of the land" would not grant liberty to someone bereft of religion. Jewish mandate and colonial law had locked horns. De Leon thus requested that the *parnassim* allow "my mulata" to be baptized according to the Jewish religion and receive upon herself the yoke of Judaism, promising to manumit her as soon as this had been accomplished.[56]

The leaders' reaction was prompt. Just three days later the cantor of Sedek VeSalom, Moses Jona, certified that he had baptized her according to the Jewish rite. Louisa was now Ribca Louisa de Leon.[57] Jona specified that she was converted "as a Portuguese Jew," a phrase not superfluous in that Louisa had clearly received not only a religious identity but also an ethnic one. The conversion of a female allowed Jewish women a rare opportunity to serve as official witnesses, because the immersion, occurring in the nude, called for sexual modesty. Hence, Louisa was immersed not only before Samuel Fernandes and David Israel Vieira, who probably turned their backs at the crucial moments, but also in the presence of Luna, widow of Isaac Robles de Medina, and Jael, wife (or daughter) of Abraham Fernandes. As so often seen in conversion and manumission records, the relationship between the slave and her master is passed over in silence. In all probability, Louisa was either the daughter or the concubine of Abraham de Leon. The continuation of slave conversion to Judaism during enslavement in the 1800s may help explain the perseverance of the aforementioned slave conversion ceremony in *Sefer Berith Yitshak* through at least 1803.[58]

Once Suriname's Sephardic community had largely migrated to Paramaribo—where white Christians occupied the highest step on the social ladder—the question of admission into the Jewish fold continued to plague its members. But here, in a largely Christian environment, the laws changed noticeably. In 1829, four years after the dissolution of the Mahamad, the regents drafted new regulations whose frequent crossed-out lines suggest internal disputes or ideological wavering. The question of "who is a Sephardi Jew" and gradations of membership status occupy the very first bylaw. "It is understood that members are all born from legal marriages, Portuguese Israelites," the regulations open. Tellingly, a key section of the bylaw, clarifying that "members are whites, free coloreds," is deleted, suggesting an attempt to deracialize the definition of community membership. Another remark, a marginal passage revealing hypocrisy's blinders, is also crossed out: "In order on the one hand to encourage marriage and morals among the *kleurlingen* [literally, "colored ones," in this case, Eurafrican Jews], the title of member is extended to them, but, on the other hand, in order not to forget what order and politics [*staatkunde*] prescribe, they should only be given a few more privileges or rather honors than the congregants, and this through the sixth grade. N.B. For your information, there are six grades: Negro, Carboeger, Mulat, Musties, Casties, Poesties. The seventh being white."[59]

A comparison between the suppressed ordinances and the portions spared from deletion clearly shows a leadership grappling with the ascendancy of sexual behavior over racial definition. In the plantation environment of Jodensavanne, Sephardic society was informed by the racially and behaviorally based binary of *jehidim* versus *congregantes*. In the city by the 1820s, the Luso-Jewish community complicated this binary by considering racial subcategories and distinctions based on sexual conduct. Congregants in Paramaribo were free men and women stained by improper sexual behavior: those who "are free though not legally born, women who have given birth to children outside of wedlock, and married women who during their marriage give birth to bastards, as well as their children conceived in adultery." The deleted passage suggests that in the city Christian influence seeped into the self-definition of Suriname's Sephardim, producing a curious combination of Christian and Jewish ideas of illegitimate sexual relations and the resulting progeny.[60] Back in Jodensavanne, Judaism was understood and transmitted in primarily patriarchal terms. In the city, a shift seems to have occurred, with Jewish social status largely determined by the sexual behavior of women.

The term "member" (*lidmaat*), used at a time when *jahid* and *congregante* were still viable descriptors of social status, suggests a third tier of Jewish identity assigned to those who were considered neither completely gentile nor completely Jewish. At this point, slaves were not granted conversion to Judaism, as in centuries past. But in the case of newborns, the law also became more porous and lenient. Article 5 reads: "No slave may be admitted to the Israelite religion or circumcised. However, if one prefers to have a newborn little slave become a Jew and have him circumcised on the eighth day of his birth, this will only occur on the explicit condition that the slave owner, as soon as possible, give enough compensation to the Parnassim for the benefit of such a child.[61] [The slave owner should do so] with the highest speed according to precepts of the law [and] request letters of manumission from the competent authority."[62] This measure perhaps guarded against the licentiousness of female concubinage, but it openly accepted—and even encouraged—the conversion of baby slaves to Judaism. Presumably, these babies were largely the mulatto progeny of Sephardic slave owners and their gentile slaves. Figures gathered for the early nineteenth century demonstrate that "half-breeds" and females were more likely to be manumitted than male blacks.[63] One in 494 females and 1 in 1,004 males were manumitted in Suriname in 1826, suggesting that economics were not the only factor: the personal relationship between the master and the slave was also crucial.[64]

Thus, in the 1840s, the Sephardic community began to exercise more caution in conversion matters. When the slave Wilhelmina declared herself in 1841 as "desirous of being adopted into the Jewish ways," the regents wondered whether she was being coerced or possessed earthly incentives. Similarly, when J. Barsano presented her son, Isaac, as a prospective convert, Sephardic leaders provisionally granted her request, with financial conditions.[65] Subsequent meetings also suggest that the leaders' apprehensions were more financial than racial or religious. After investigating her case, the regents decided that Wilhelmina's interest in Judaism was "pure affection" and welcomed her as a member (*lidmaat*), but again with a financial guarantor.[66]

The concern with economic stability was particularly directed at prospective converts with no Jewish background.[67] A mulatto, for example, might fall back on the assistance of his Jewish father, but a "pure" gentile had no such luck.[68] For this reason, gentile free persons and black slaves were subject to particular scrutiny. After some discussion in 1840, the regents decided in March of the following year to compile a set of rules regarding the conversion of "both free persons and slaves, not born from Israelite parents." The first article articulates the fear that such individuals would fall into poverty and become the responsibility of communal charity (*kerkbestuur*). They decided to set aside a special fund for the benefit of these people, to "bail" them out of impoverishment. Owners would contribute to this fund and, according to the second article, were required to secure letters of manumission within six months after "adoption" by the community. Article three stipulates that children born of a female slave already a member of the community would be considered members and would be circumcised or ritually immersed in water according to Jewish law. A guarantor was responsible for applying for their manumission within six months of their birth. He would also be responsible for arranging the funerals of converts, whether enslaved or free, and for designating one or two trustworthy substitutes should he leave the colony. These gynocentric regulations, suggesting a preponderance of women converts, can be principally explained in three ways. First, female slaves were frequently impregnated by Jewish masters. Secondly, adult conversion to Judaism was much simpler for a female, who was exempt from the excruciating and risky ritual of circumcision. Finally, Suriname marriage and the institution of slavery gave rise to a preponderance of matrilocal families. Here we see once again that females were central to the redefinition of Jewishness in Suriname.

The mingling of Jews with the local African descendant population exerted a profound linguistic impact. Partly because they were among the earliest white settlers in the Caribbean, Sephardim had a significant impact on creole languages, including Pamiamentu, the lingua franca of Curaçao by the 1740s,[69] and Suriname's Sranan Tongo, formerly known as Negro English (*neger engels*).[70]

The proliferation of Sranan Tongo among the colony's Jews is difficult to explore, as casual conversations between people are rarely recorded verbatim in communal minutes, and these records appear mainly in Portuguese and Dutch. However, thanks to the trial pieces of a Jewish charitable organization, snatches of creole conversations have been preserved. From the second decade of the nineteenth century onward, the Gemilut Hassadim brotherhood sent various representatives to collect monies owed by its members living in Paramaribo. These men visited the homes of debtors and recorded the response of whoever answered the door. The case of Menaseh Abarbanel illustrates the trilingualism of Paramaribo's Sephardic families. On various occasions in 1815 and 1816, representative J. Fernandes Jr. arrived at Abarbanel's house to warn him of his overdue debt. Abarbanel replied each time in Portuguese that he had no money (*"nao tenho dinheyro"*). When Abarbanel's wife answered the door she replied in Sranan Tongo that she would speak with him (*"me take hem"*). Their son Joseph responded in perfect Dutch that he would inform his father when he returned home (*"als myn vader thuys komt, zal ik hem zeggen"*). When Abarbanel finally surrendered himself as an insolvent debtor, he expressed his willingness in a mixture of Portuguese and Dutch.

These records reveal that women and daughters replied more often in Sranan than in any other language, echoing David Nassy's complaint in the 1780s that Jewish women were continuously chattering in Negro English (*"continuellement jasant en negre Angloi"*).[71] Only in one case is it clear that these speakers of Negro English were themselves African in origin. On January 10, 1823, Abraham Moses Fernandes, sworn clerk, arrived at the home of Jacob Hayim Robles. On behalf of the Gemilut Hassadim brotherhood, Fernandes conveyed the warning that the debt was due within twenty-four hours. Robles was not home, but the mulatta (*"humma mulata"*) who opened the door replied in Sranan Tongo, *"Mi papa no de na hoso te a kom mi sa takie gie hem"* (My father is not at home; when he comes I shall speak to him).[72] These records do not represent a wide enough sample, not only because they are relatively few in number (about forty entries), but also because females would have been more likely to answer the door. Yet they do speak to the possibility that miscegenation with African-origin women accelerated the proliferation of Sranan in the Jewish community. This theory becomes particularly suggestive when one considers that the vast majority of Surinamese blacks (excepting maroons) were African born, and thus Sranan "was still a second rather than a first language for three-quarters of the population" as much as a century after the colony's founding.[73] If blacks were not key transmitters of this creole, *mulatas,* whose important role in the Jewish community has been illustrated, may have been critical in the development of Sranan among Suriname's Sephardim.

The former Dutch colony provides an unparalleled case study for a diachronic investigation of black-Jewish interactions in the early modern world. In the second half of the eighteenth century, Suriname was home to the largest Jewish community in the Americas, peaking at just over a thousand souls. Its Jewish community is the longest lived in South America, surviving until today. Suriname was a plantation society, the vast majority of whose members were of African descent; thus, creolization meant the fusion of European Jewish and black cultures and peoples. Viewed in a broad Sephardic context and within the multiethnic context of the "land of seven peoples," the creolization of Suriname's Jews proves to be one aspect of a transatlantic phenomenon that found its fullest expression in the former Dutch colony.

This essay argues that the transmission of Jewishness in Suriname's Sephardic community became an increasingly matrilineal matter, endowing black, and especially mulatto women, with a pivotal role as determinants of community belonging. If this is true, it complements recent research demonstrating the distinctive and critical roles of African-origin women in developing Christian religions of the American South and the Caribbean.[74] Whether or not this hypothesis as relates to Suriname is borne out has yet to be determined, since the real archival spadework has scarcely begun. The presence of these individuals in the Dutch colony's Jewish community is difficult to pinpoint, as it involves tirelessly scanning thousands of pages of Jewish marriage, birth, circumcision, and death records for an African or unusual Jewish name (e.g., Jaba or Ismahel) or racial notation (e.g., *congregante*, *castiço*, or *escrava*). Poring through Dutch notarial archives with this goal in mind turned up our Joseph Pelegrino, his black concubines, and his mulatto children, while the myriad pages of Jewish communal meeting minutes, dating from 1749 to the turn of the twentieth century, are sprinkled with references to slaves and their conversion. Moreover, the silences embedded within these sources must also be scrutinized, for the sense of public decorum frequently censored written records referring to female blacks and mulattoes, whether enslaved or free. In birth records, for example, Eurafrican Jews are often not racially identified, but a child listed as the issue of his mother solely, and therefore not publicly recognized by his father, is a telltale sign of second-class status. Scholars attempting in vain to trace the birth records of known mothers or others known by family tradition to have dwelled in the colony have also confirmed these silences.[75] Collectively, the individuals retrieved from these painstaking searches form a significant group, in impact, if not in relative size, and they are the key to understanding the phenomenon of Jewish creolization in Suriname.

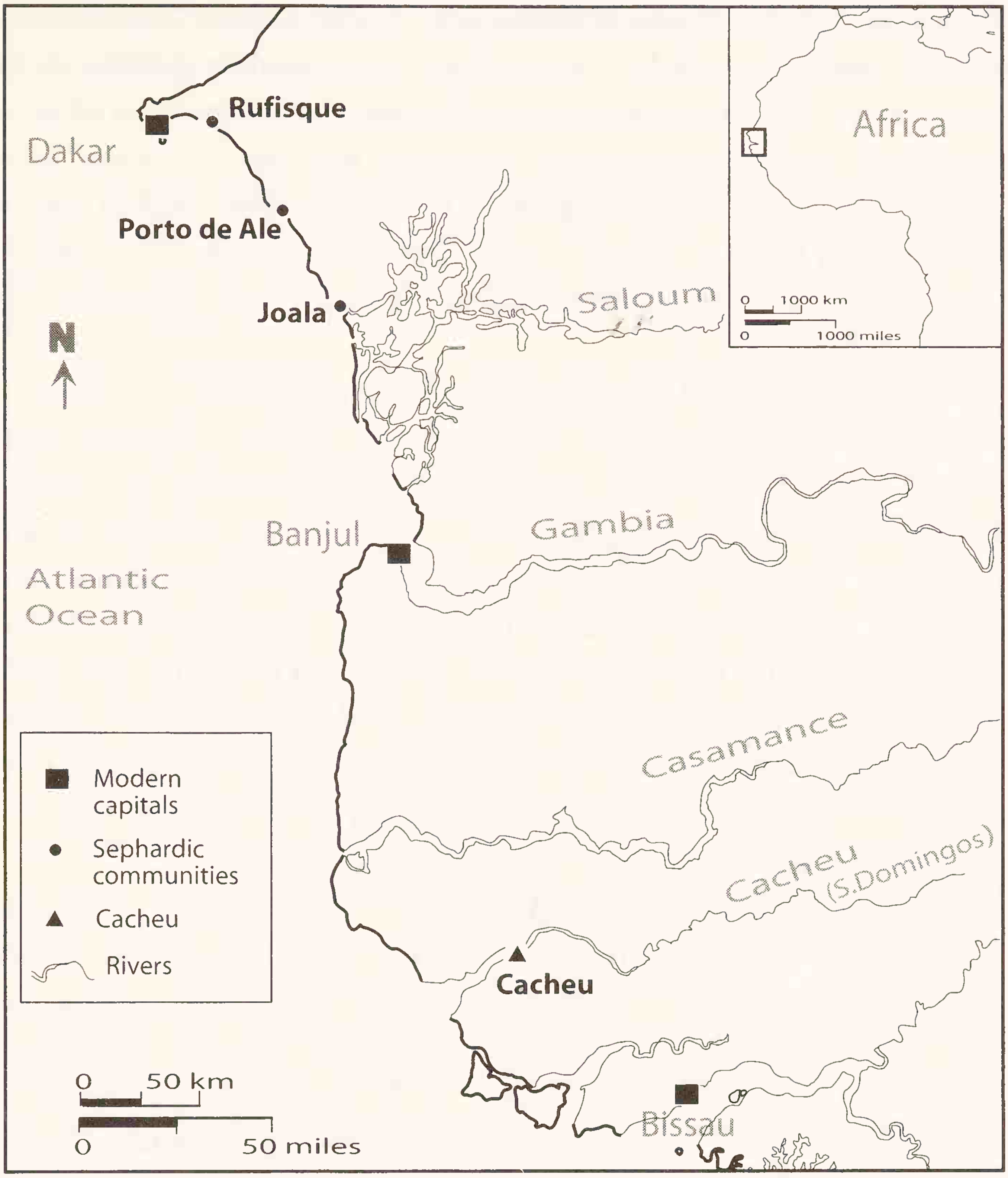
CHAPTER NINE

Catholics, Jews, and Muslims in Early Seventeenth-Century Guiné

PETER MARK AND JOSÉ DA SILVA HORTA

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN IMPORTANT Portuguese Jewish community in Amsterdam, at the very end of the sixteenth century, was intimately connected to the development of a global commercial network of New Christians and Jews, or "os da nação," as they were called in Portugal. Within a decade of the foundation, around 1595, of Amsterdam's Jewish community, a number of practicing Jews from that city had settled on the West African coast, in two villages on Senegal's Petite Côte, Joal and Porto de Ale (Portodale or Porto de Ali).[1] These men had begun their peregrinations as Portuguese New Christians; they subsequently spent time in the Netherlands, where they "reconverted" to their ancestral religion. After they settled on the Petite Côte, before 1606, they maintained close religious and commercial ties to Amsterdam.[2] Both Petite Côte communities were composed mostly of Jewish merchants who publicly proclaimed their religious identity. The communities were small and their members moved regularly between them. In the case of Porto de Ale the available evidence (ca. 1613) allows us to estimate a population of thirty or forty Portuguese Jews and their mestizo families.[3]

In 1612, Jacob Peregrino, a Portuguese-born Jew who had formerly been known as Jerónimo Rodrigues Freire, was sent by the Sephardic community in Amsterdam (probably by the Bet Jacob congregation), to serve as rabbi of the Senegalese Jews and in a trade mission.[4] By this time, Jeronimo Freire (probably the same individual), together with other members of the Bet Jacob congregation, was converting New Christians to their ancestral religion in Amsterdam.[5] Freire had fled from Portugal and came to the Netherlands, possibly, after thirteen years in Venice, where he may have obtained the education to become a spiritual leader in Senegambia.[6] He brought circumcision instruments with him to Senegal,


Rufisque
Dakar
Porto de Ale
Joala
Saloum
N
Africa
0 1000 km
0 1000 miles
Banjul
Gambia
Atlantic Ocean
Casamance
Modern capitals
Sephardic communities
Cacheu
Rivers
Cacheu
(S.Domingos)
Cacheu
0 50 km
0 50 miles
Bissau

Map of the Petite Côte Sephardic communities and Cacheu in the Senegambia. Rui Pimenta, Peter Mark, and José da Silva Horta

indicating that the men of Joal and Porto de Ale would no longer have to travel to Amsterdam in order formally to claim their Jewish identity.

Several members of Bet Jacob were already involved in the Guinea trade.[7] By 1613 the Jews of the Petite Côte had established commercial relations with São Tomé and Angola, and by 1618 this Sephardic network also extended to Brazil.[8] In Senegal, these merchants were protected by the local African rulers who, by that time, without exception, were Muslims.

What historical factors may account for the alliance between European Jewish merchants and West African Muslim rulers? Was their relationship based on the Islamic tradition of extending protected, or *dhimma,* status to some non-Muslims? Or was it a manifestation of local Senegalese customs of providing a protective welcome to visiting merchants? Might the situation on Senegal's Petite Côte have resulted from a combination of Islamic, Jewish, and Senegambian customs that together served the mutual economic interests of Europeans and Senegalese, of Muslims and Jews?

Before they arrived in Senegal, the Sephardic merchants had lived as Christians in Portugal and later, in Amsterdam, as Jews. In seventeenth-century Senegambia, religious and cultural identities were remarkably fluid. Identities were flexible, malleable, and based on cultural and socioeconomic factors. Furthermore, identities were both situational and relational, a fact that facilitated the temporary or permanent incorporation of outsiders into local communities. Individuals could and did move back and forth among different identities, in the course of their lives. What impact did this distinctive West African identity model have on Jewish identity? And how could Jewish identity be transmitted within a Luso-African family and survive in a West African milieu?

The broader historical context of Jewish-Muslim relations in the century following the expulsion or forced conversion of Iberian Jews enables us to hypothesize about the political significance of the relations that developed between the Jews of Senegal's Petite Côte and the neighboring Muslim rulers. A long firsthand account of the Senegambian coast, written around 1608 by a New Christian trader, Sebastião Fernandes Cação, clearly indicates that the Jews of Porto de Ale enjoyed a measure of protection against Portuguese Christians:

> In this *puerto dali* [i.e., port of Ali or Porto de Ale, present-day Sali Portudal] there is a community with "100 *vizinhos* [in Portuguese, literally 'neighbours,' which may correspond to persons or families]"—of Portuguese and blacks. To this port came people from Flanders who profess the law of Moses and here they perform their rituals and ceremonies like the ones of Judea—[i.e., the land of the Jews in Palestine]—And the Portuguese seeking to kill them and expel them from that place ran a serious risk. Because the King took the side of the former and he told the latter that his land was a market [*feria*] where all kinds of people had a right to live. And that no one would cause dis-

> order in his land; or he would have their heads cut off. If they wanted to make war they ought to make it on the sea not on his land, which, as he had already said, was a market. [9]

It was in this Senegalese ruler's economic self-interest to welcome the newly established Jewish merchants. With their ties to Holland, these men provided competition for the Portuguese and Luso-African merchants based in the Cape Verde Islands and at Cacheu, located in northern present-day Guinea-Bissau, about two hundred kilometers south of the Petite Côte, as well as for the English and the French who, sometimes with the help of the *lançados* (Portuguese who had settled on the coast) and Luso-Africans, also traded in the king's land. Nevertheless, one wonders whether something more was at issue. Was this ruler consciously following Muslim law, by extending *dhimma* status to the Jews who had settled on or adjacent to his territory? The *dhimmis* were non-Muslims—mainly People of the Book, Jews and Christians—who lived within a Muslim society. They generally paid a special tax, but they were given protection and some rights, such as freedom of religion—although not to proselytize—and freedom to carry out trade.

Our sources do not refer specifically to these Jews by the commonly granted Islamic legal status either of *dhimmi* or of *musta'min*—visiting merchants whose short-term presence was tolerated in a Muslim polity. More likely (see below) their Senegalese hosts were following long-established local traditions of welcoming visiting traders. Nevertheless, the Dutch Jews' initial decision to settle in a Muslim state may well have been inspired by their own knowledge of Islamic law with regard to resident non-Muslims.

After the 1497 conversion/expulsion of Portuguese Jews, as many as fifty thousand fled Iberia. Of these, a significant number, perhaps a majority, immigrated to Muslim lands, including Morocco and the Ottoman Empire. An important attraction of these Islamic polities was the protection *dhimma* status could afford them. By the second half of the sixteenth century, the descendants of some self-exiled Iberian Jews living in Fez and, later, Marrakesh had been sent on diplomatic missions to Portugal and the Netherlands.[10] A few decades later, the Dutch Jews in Senegal may also have sought out Islamic states. For the Jewish settlers in Senegal, this preference would have provided a second motive for establishing their communities north of the Gambia. Besides being geographically farther removed from the danger of the Inquisition,[11] the Jews of the Petite Côte were in a region that was at least nominally under the sway of Muslim states.

Jewish traders gained *dhimma* status in the western Sahara at an early date.[12] This may also have been the case along the coast of Senegal by the seventeenth century. There is, however, insufficient historical evidence of social and cultural continuity between medieval or early modern Jewish expansion in the Sahara, and the situation further south, in sub-Saharan West Africa, to warrant this conclusion.[13]

More important to the evolution of Muslim-Jewish relations on the Petite Côte, however, was the specific Senegambian context of European/African (and Luso-African) relations. Here, host/client hospitality served as the foundation of social relationships.

On the Upper Guinea Coast, Portuguese and Luso-Africans generally identified themselves and were identified by the Africans as Christians. But on the Petite Côte, as soon as the Portuguese redefined their religious identity in a public way, that new identity would have had implications for the manner in which they related to the landlords. Once they identified themselves as Jews, these Sephardic merchants established a discourse with their Muslim hosts, including theological dialogue that clearly distinguished them from Christian traders.

In early seventeenth-century Senegal, Jews and Muslims carried out theological discussions in which the Jews stressed the similarity of their beliefs and rituals to Muslim customs. Our knowledge of such conversations comes primarily from Inquisition records. In Senegambia, where the Inquisition was never officially established and where these practicing Jews were never brought to trial, the informants were not themselves Jews, and most of them had not directly participated in the religious conversations in question. A significant part of our information is therefore indirect, although we do possess some eyewitness accounts. Consequently, reports about theological discussions between Senegalese Muslims and Dutch/Portuguese Jews have to be treated with caution.

These conversations, as recounted by Inquisition witnesses, frequently centered on shared attitudes toward Christian iconolatry. The discussions evoked Christian reliance upon religious imagery, such as wooden statues. For example, in 1612, a witness reported to the vicar of Cacheu, Bartolomeu Rebelo (Rabello) Tavares, that he had heard from the *moradores*, or Portuguese inhabitants of Guinea of Cape Verde, that the Jewish traders of the Petite Côte were deriding Christian reliance upon images: "And they [the Jews] said that they were the ones who knew God, and that we [Christians] were idolators, prone to adoration of sticks and stones."[14]

Another witness reported to the same vicar that one of the Jews of the Petite Côte, Luis Fernandes Duarte, or Joshua Israel, had expressed virtually the same ideas. Duarte had uttered many "blasphemous words, calling us Christians, pagans [*nos os cristãos de gentios*] and saying that we engage in the adoration of sticks and stones."[15] The focus of both attacks was, of course, the charge that Catholics worshipped images.

To some extent, this testimony reflects a Catholic obsession with charges of idolatry. One of the questions specifically asked of witnesses by Catholic authorities in Cacheu was, "Do you know whether these Jews express blasphemies and heresies to the Catholics' faces and to the followers of Jesus Christ and whether they say that we worship sticks and stones and are idolators?"[16] In fact, the formula frequently used by Jews for Christians' adoration of sticks and stones refers to Isaiah 37:19, according to which, the gods of the gentiles are not gods at all but "works of men's hands, of wood and stone." This question may, in turn, be situated within a wider discourse about images, saint worship, and idolatry. At the turn of the seventeenth century, all of these issues were directly related both to ongoing theological debates between Jews and Catholics and to Reformation opposition to this aspect of Catholic religious practice. In addition, the discourse about idolatry reflects, to some extent, Jewish merchants' awareness that their argument could be adapted to a Muslim audience who would be sensitive to attitudes opposed to idolatry.

Priests and Catholic missionaries in Senegambia and Guiné do Cabo Verde were themselves in a delicate situation, as they were living among a largely non-Christian population that neither shared their theological precepts nor accepted their religious authority.[17] Church officials were acutely aware of this lack of authority, which severely compromised efforts to counter what they perceived to be Jewish attacks on Catholic doctrine. Testimony collected by the Vicar in Cacheu included the assertion and admission that "many times these Jews speak public blasphemy against the holy name of Christ, [but] the Catholics are not able to offer resistance, because they are in the land of Black 'gentios' [i.e., black, non-Christian, non-Muslims]."[18]

By the early seventeenth century, Portuguese commercial activity in Senegambia was no longer exclusively organized from the Cape Verde archipelago. Mainland traffic was centered at Cacheu. Many of the Jewish and New Christian traders, however, did business with Dutch vessels; this illicit trade represented an economic loss for Old Christians and a few New Christians based at Cacheu and in the Cape Verde Islands. The latter group, therefore, had both religious and economic motives for seeking to curtail the involvement of Sephardic merchants in the trade from the Petite Côte. On more than one occasion, legations from Cacheu visited the local rulers of the Petite Côte, trying to persuade them to evict their Jewish clients.[19]

The Petite Côte encompassed territory belonging to three different Senegalese states. To the north, the important Wolof state of Cayor extended to the trading center of Rufisque. Less than fifty kilometers further south, the king of Baol (the Teigne) controlled the village of Porto de Ali. Between Porto de Ale and the Gambia, the village of Joal belonged to the Wolof-Sereer state of Sine (Siín), ruled by the Bûr Siín (also referred to in seventeenth-century sources as the Berbecin, or king of Joal).[20]

These Senegambian rulers were not swayed by the Portuguese argument that Jews should be prohibited from settling or trading along the coast. Indeed, from their perspective, their chief interest was to protect all sorts of traders, regardless of nationality or religious affiliation. The resulting largely unrestricted acceptance of foreign traders was in some sense analogous to the practice, found in the Casamance and in the Mande-influenced lower Gambia, of offering a form of "safe conduct" to visiting traders, even in time of conflict.[21]

The Jewish merchants of the Petite Côte were also aware of this situation. Through conversations with local rulers, they sought to secure their position. One strategy they used was to emphasize areas of congruence between Muslim and Jewish doctrine and ritual. Preserved among the records of the Lisbon Inquisition is the detailed account of one such conversation that took place in 1612 between several members of the Jewish community of Senegal and the Berbecin. The witness, one Simão de Torres, resided in Cacheu. His testimony is highly significant, as Torres was clearly present at the meeting he describes, along with a group of Christians *"moradores na terra,"* following an order of the *"feitor"* of Cacheu to arrest the Jews.

At this meeting, Torres identifies several of the Petite Côte Jews whom he knew by name. All were from "Frandres" (i.e., Holland): Luis Fernandes Duarte, Jerónimo Freire, Diogo Vaz de Sousa "o Moço," Filipe de Sousa "o Corcovado," "and one mulatto," Moisés de Mesquita, as well as Diogo Martins Bondia. These traders, accompanied by five or six men whose names he did not know, had met with the "Berbecin."

> When he, the witness went to meet the King [of Joala] to arrest them [the Jews], the said Jews were present and when he, the witness, destroyed them [verbally] and told the King to deliver them to him so that his port should be good and put in order, they [the Jews] told the King that we the Catholics were pagans and that we worshiped stones and sticks, and that we seek harm to them, because they followed the way of Mussa, who is Moses, in the language of the Blacks. And he knows further, that they presented themselves to the King as initiated and circumcised [Portuguese juxtaposition of synonyms]; like the King himself and the other Black people.[22]

This passage is clearly based upon eyewitness testimony. The detail goes far beyond the customary references in Inquisition sources, to Jewish condemnations of idolatry (adoration of "sticks and stones"). In particular, the mention of "Musa," whom the king's visitors identify with Moses, clearly refers to a specific conversation. Furthermore, Torres's testimony depicts the Jews as using a discourse that shows a sensitivity not only to the king and his people as Muslims but also to local African culture. The reference to "Musa" implies some familiarity with Islamic tradition; it also asserts shared traditions between Muslims and Jews; and it implicitly situates the Jews as followers of a religion of the Book. The reference to circumcision implicitly associates Islam and Judaism, but at the same time it refers to the widespread Senegalese practice of male circumcision. Among non-Muslims in Senegambia, circumcision is the ritual expression of achieving adult status. Hence, for the Jews to emphasize their own circumcision is implicitly to identify themselves, like their hosts, as adults, and to differentiate themselves from the uncircumcised Catholics who are, ritually, still children. In this context, the reference to Catholic iconolatry is clearly part of an effort to present similarities between Judaism and Islam. This was a defensive strategy, which also amounted to a counterattack by the Jews, following the strong negative discourse about them made by the Christians.

This argument also serves to deny the existence of common ground that might distinguish Christians and Muslims from local *gentios* (African non-Christians and non-Muslims). Catholics were concerned that this Jewish discourse might discredit them before both the Muslims and the *gentios*. The Jesuit missionaries in Guinea who sought to convert the *gentios* tried precisely to fight their idolatry. This "sin" was considered a definitive characteristic of the local religions. Missionary discourse against idolaters and idolatry was now turned against the Catholics by the Jews. In this war of religion and trade, the Jews were even accused of selling "black Christians" to "*gentios*" kings (though they would not have been alone in this practice).[23]

The Jewish accusation of Christian idolatry is frequently recorded in Inquisition charges, both in Portugal and in the Portuguese overseas empire, in cases brought against New Christians who were suspected of being covert Jews. In Portugal, Christians were frequently called "*gentios*" (gentiles) by New Christians.[24] The Old Testament/Torah category of "gentiles" influenced the discourse of Jews and judaizing New Christians. So, for example, in April of 1616 a New Christian named Diogo Dias Ferreira living in Leiria, a town in west central Portugal, came to the attention of the Lisbon Inquisition. Ferreira was married to a "*Christã velha*" (Old Christian) named Ana Antunes; he had previously been imprisoned by the Inquisition. Following an auto-da-fé, he was released with the stipulation that he wear the penitential robe. He and his wife evidently no longer lived together, but at a time when they still cohabited, they had engaged in a mean-spirited fight over who would pay the rent. In the course of this marital spat, Ferreira allowed himself an outburst that landed him once again before the Inquisition. He told his wife to go ask her relatives for the money, since he wasn't going to give her anything and besides, "all the Old Christians are descended from a dog, and they worship sticks and stones, and it was they who arrested Christ . . . and blamed [the Jews] for killing him, and I am a descendent of Jacob who is more honorable than all of your relatives."[25]

The contradiction between Catholic reliance on religious images and Jewish rejection of these images as a form of idolatry engendered a dramatic gesture by one recent reconvert to Judaism. In 1612 Manuel Homem de Carvalho, a New Christian, arrived in Amsterdam from Portugal. There, under the influence of several leaders of the Jewish community, including Jerónimo Freire, Carvalho decided to become a Jew.[26] This was quite possibly the same Jerónimo Freire who, under the name Jacob Peregrino, sailed from Amsterdam to Senegal later in the same year to become the rabbi of the Jewish community of the Petite Côte. Given Freire/Peregrino's likely role in Carvalho's conversion, and in view of the Senegalese Jews' attack on Catholic idolatry in their discussion with local Muslims, also in 1612, Carvalho's subsequent action is particularly illuminating.

In 1620 Carvalho was arrested in Angola by a *"visitador"* (visitor) of the Inquisition. In his subsequent testimony, undoubtedly obtained under torture or the threat of torture, Carvalho admitted that, when he arrived in Amsterdam in 1612, he possessed a wooden statue of "Our Lady of the Rosary." This statue depicted Mary holding the Christ Child in her arms. When he converted to Judaism, Carvalho, who had come to believe that one should neither venerate nor even possess such images, burned this statue.[27]

Carvalho's act, typical of the religious fervor of the newly converted, mimics the original Old Testament act of iconoclasm, recounted in Exodus: Moses' destruction of the Golden Calf. Carvalho himself expressed the conviction that one should neither venerate, nor even possess religious images: "per crer que se não devião venerar e ter as imagens semelhantes." For this refugee from seventeenth-century Portugal, the act may also have contained an element, conscious or otherwise, of symbolic opposition to the auto-da-fé. Here, instead of Catholics burning Jews, a Jew burns a representation of the most sacred Catholic image.[28]

For Portuguese Jews, the destruction of Christian religious images was necessarily a symbolically charged act. Describing a similar action, the destruction of images of the crucifix by seventeenth-century crypto-Jews in Portugal, scholar Marco Nunes da Silva writes: "To destroy the crucifix is, for a New Christian, to thereby destroy . . . that which it represents . . . the faith that oppresses and kills."[29]

Symbolically, the destruction of this image of Our Lady of the Rosary constituted an attack on the Catholic faith and on its fundamental theological tenets. Sadly, Carvalho's religious drama would have another act. In burning the statue of the Virgin, Carvalho may have been signing his own death warrant. In 1620 he was arrested by the Inquisition in Angola and then brought to Brazil for trial. Surviving Inquisition records do not record the disposition of his case, but one can only imagine that Manuel de Carvalho did not have a happy end. This episode was not an exceptional one, even in Angola. In earlier records, during the Inquisition inquiry of 1596–98 in Luanda, a New Christian named Aires Fernandes is reported by different witnesses to have broken one arm of the crucifix of several African statues he had purchased in Congo. One of the informants states that the destroyed arm was the short vertical piece above the junction, where the title of the crucifix ought to be. The accused explained, "que na Lei Velha não avia cruz aberta senão daquella maneira que elle mostrava nas ditas contas"[30]—"because under the Old Law, there wasn't an open Cross; only the [T-shaped] Cross; [that is] similar to the one he used as a pendant, beneath the beaded necklace."[31] Furthermore, in early seventeenth-century Portugal, several Inquisition trials concerning the profanation and destruction of sacred objects—for instance, in Alentejo—give evidence of a common practice that the Counter-Reformed Church was eager to fight. [32]

New Christians were not alone in facing the threat of the Inquisition, should they express—or act on—anti-iconolatric ideas. In 1606 a Castillian Catholic goldsmith named Gaspar Lopez was denounced to the Inquisition in Lisbon for denying Church teachings about miracles. He was accused of having argued that "the saints that are upon the altar are only a stick of wood and they cannot work miracles" or that saints "should not be worshipped nor reverenced because they are wooden saints."[33]

Even within the Church hierarchy, the use of religious images could lead to iconolatry. This problem is illustrated in the detailed account, by a highly educated priest, of credulousness among the members of his own rural parish. On April 29, 1619, Duarte Correa (or Correia), the seventy-two-year-old prior of the church of S. Pedro in the region of Alenquer, near Lisbon, confessed to the inquisitor and visitor D. Manuel Pereira. Father Correa had presented an Easter sermon in which he remonstrated against his congregants' beliefs regarding sacred images in the church. Fearing that he had perhaps been too critical of the cult of the saints, Father Correa sought out the Inquisitor, perhaps to protect himself from any negative repercussions to his own sermon.

Father Correa's sermon had sharply criticized the attitudes of an ignorant and a credulous congregation—or, we might say, the manifestations of popular religion—attitudes that demonstrate the fine line between faith in sacred images, and idolatry. The sin of *idolatria*—worshiping the creations of God instead of God Himself—contrasted with the true cult, *latria*. Catholic sensitivity to charges of idolatry is also reflected in the Inquisition's attention to Jewish discourse on "sticks and stones."[34] Father Correa's testimony reflects a serious problem that confronted the Church. The contemporary reader is likely to sympathize with Correa's attacks on idolatry, but in early seventeenth-century Portugal, the Counter-Reformist propaganda was rather focused on preventing anything that could denigrate the virtues of sacred images.[35] The priest had remonstrated to his congregation that "they should not beat their chest with the statues, but rather give them as much veneration as they should give to the saints that the images represented, and [he told them] that the images did not possess either virtue or sanctity, no more than in that they represented or were figures of [the Saints], and that the images were simply of wood, stone, gold, or silver. And that if the crucifix that stood at the other altar of the same church should fall and break into pieces, that image would not feel any pain whatever and that he would immediately have another image made of a better shape."[36]

Correa further expresses a subtle but crucial theological point when he distinguishes between veneration of the Sacrament and reverence for images, even of the Holy Virgin. "And if he, after Confession, were to go before the image of Our Lady that stands at the altar, he would offer his devotion, or not, expressing at that Station [of devotion] the distinction that properly exists between the Adoration of the Holy Sacrament, and the reverence for images of the Saints."[37]

In other words, while the Host, at the moment of consecration, is deemed to become the actual body of Christ, sacred images, including that of Mary, are representations rather than corporealizations of the divine. The highly educated Father Correia thus found himself in the position of denouncing idol worship among his congregants, while taking care not to call into question the legitimacy of the Sacrament of the Host. At the same time, the priest had to avoid rejecting either Church dogma about miracles or the Counter-Reformation's reaffirmation of visual representations of the saints. This final point meant that he, as a member of the clergy, was called upon to walk a theological tightrope. Father Correia's awareness of the presence of idolatry among the more credulous—and unlettered—Catholic believers reflects how widespread was the belief and practice of "idolatry." It was precisely an awareness of Christian idolatry, or its semblance, that elicited the attention of the Jewish merchants of West Africa in their discussions with the Muslim Bûr Síín, on Senegal's Petite Côte.

Seventeenth-century Jewish religious philosophers also focused attacks on the perceived idolatry of Catholic ritual.[38] Jonathan Israel describes the increasingly self-confident tone of anti-Christian polemics among members of the Sephardic community shortly after 1600. In particular, he discusses the writings of Eliau Montalto (Felipe Rodrigues), a judaized Marrano who lived in France and Italy. Montalto, who in 1612 became court physician to Marie de Médici, attacked Christianity as superstitious and idolatrous. This, in Israel's words, was part of a more general "intensifying counter-polemic against Christianity."[39]

The Jewish discourse on Christian "idolatry" was well known to the Portuguese Inquisition. In a codex that belonged to D. Francisco de Castro, inquisitor general from 1630, a number of texts were compiled.[40] Among them is *Tratado breve com que se prova como os da nação Hebraica que vivem em Portugal serem fingidos christãos Judeus, em viverem judaicamente, e fazerem todos os males que podem aos christãos velhos* . . . (A Brief Treatise that demonstrates how those of the Hebrew Nation who live in Portugal are only outwardly Christians, actually living as Jews and rendering the maximum possible harm to Old Christians . . .). The résumé of chapter 5 reads: "They [the Jews] maintain that the doctrine of Christ is idolatry and they consider the Christians as worse than idolators. They also think they should refuse to form either alliances or peace treaties with the idolators that we are, but should rather convert them from their idolatry. And when they see an idolator who is in danger they do not aid him, but these Christians, worse than idolators, they deprive them of all means for saving themselves."[41] A number of Hebrew commentaries on the Talmud and Rabbinic glosses are quoted to prove the assertions, the main quote and primary source being Book 1 (*Sefer Hamada*—Book of Knowledge) of the *Mishne Torah* of Moses Maimonides, cited as asserting that "Christians are Idolaters."[42]

Close cooperation between Jews and Christian idolaters being excluded, the way was opened to some proximity between Jews and Muslims, as is evident in a testimony recorded in Olinda (Brazil), in 1621, about António Rodrigues Andrade, "*homem da nação.*" (At the time, Andrade had left Olinda and traveled to Angola): "He says that he would sooner save the Muslims than the Christians."[43]

Some Jewish writers extended their charges of idolatry to the core of the Christian message. Saul Levi Mortera (Morteira), Montalto's secretary and teacher of Latin and himself one of the leading intellects of the Sephardic community in Amsterdam and a noted anti-Christian polemicist, composed his *Tratado da Verdade da Lei de Moisés*, just prior to 1660.[44] He wrote:

> The conclusion of our primary subject . . . is the difference that exists between naturally-occurring objects, and artificial objects [i.e., those created by humans].—that natural objects have virtue and inherent qualities, and artificial ones have none— . . . And consequently there is an equivalency to those imaginary things, the instruments of contemporary idolatry, which do not embody in themselves any inherent virtue or property, and the books of the New Testament, instruments of mental idolatry, which impute [literally "teach"] respect and adoration for an imaginary mental image.[45]

Mortera interprets the worship of images as the material manifestation of a more fundamental problem, what might be called the ontological falsehood of Christian doctrine. Beliefs rooted in the New Testament are as patently false, he argues, as the worship of images. Just as visual representations constituted the basis of Christian idolatry, so too, according to Mortera, the New Testament was the mental instrument of this intellectual idolatry. The rejection of images, while rooted in the Old Testament, and, of course, in Torah (and while it provided a significant common ground with the Amsterdam Jews' Dutch Calvinist partners) has theological implications that reach beyond the matter of artistic representation and iconolatry. This philosophical attitude was common to

Jews and some New Christians in seventeenth-century Europe, Africa, and America.

In their theological conversations with Senegambian Muslims, Jewish traders stressed their own iconoclastic tradition. By so doing, they emphasized both their distance from Christian ritual and a significant area of doctrinal similarity between Judaism and Islam. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to view the Senegambian Sephardim as decrying image worship in order to curry favor among their Muslim hosts. For Senegambian Jews, the rejection of image worship was a defining aspect of their religious devotion. In this respect, their approach is similar to the situation that historian Nathan Wachtel has observed for seventeenth-century Mexico.[46] Wachtel notes that the rejection of image worship, often accompanied by expressions of scorn or mockery, was "one of the most fundamental elements of marrano religiosity."[47]

The Jews who had settled in Senegal, like those in Mexico, were Sephardic of Iberian origin. Their judaizing New Christian contemporaries in Portugal, too, were characterized by a militant opposition to Catholic image worship. In his study of crypto-Jews in seventeenth-century Portugal, Marco Antônio Nunes da Silva calls attention to the frequently voiced criticism of Catholic idolatry. He cites the example of one Inês Mendes who, viewing a procession with the Holy Sacrament passing in the street, is said to have exclaimed: "Oh, these people are barbarians and they consider as God, a crumb of bread."[48]

For the judaizing New Christians of Portugal, as for their Jewish cousins in America and West Africa, the rejection of religious images as a form of idolatry served both as a critique of Catholic ritual and, through its philosophical implications, as an attack on central tenets of Catholic belief. So much the better if this critique also provided a theological basis for cooperation with trading partners—both Dutch Protestants and Senegalese Muslims—of the Jewish merchants in diaspora.[49]

The broader historical context of African/European relations in the century following the expulsion or forced conversion of Iberian Jews illuminates more fully the social and political significance of relations between the Jews of Senegal's Petite Côte and the neighboring Muslim rulers. These relations can be understood, however, only in a double sociohistorical context. There is, first, the development, in the seventeenth century of a newly assertive Jewish identity among the Sephardim of Portuguese heritage, an identity based in part upon the rejection of Christian rituals and religious imagery. This attitude, in turn, enabled the Jews of the Petite Côte to initiate a discourse with local Muslim rulers that emphasized the existence of common ideas and practices between Islam and Judaism (circumcision, iconoclasm, the Book).

Second, the specific Senegalese context, notably a tradition of "landlords" who welcomed foreign traders, may explain the decision of local rulers to protect "their" Jews. Contemporary sources (Sebastião Fernandes Cação's description from ca. 1608; the testimony given before the Vicar of Cacheu in 1612,[50] but also André Alvares de Almada in 1594),[51] clearly indicate that the Jews of Porto de Ale enjoyed a measure of protection against Portuguese Christians. As Sebastião Cação writes: "And the Portuguese seeking to kill them and expel them from that place ran a serious risk. Because the king took the side of the former and he told the latter that his land was a market where all kinds of people had a right to live. And that no one would cause disorder in his land, or he would have their heads cut off."

At least two local Muslim rulers, the king of Porto de Ale and the Bûr Síín, extended to the Jews the same rights that they gave to all other traders. Central to this discourse is not the religion of visiting merchants but rather that his market should be open to everyone. Local rulers set the parameters for commerce in their own territory. In other words, the religious relationship between the Portuguese Jews and the local population must be situated within the broader social and political context—what might be termed the Senegambian market tradition, as well as within the context of European/African relations on the Senegalese coast.

When the local ruler, the Teigne, declared that the Portuguese may rule over the sea but that he controls the land, he was not simply making a territorial claim; he was also reminding the foreign traders that they had to respect the rules of sociability as he defined them. In his realm, as he stated, all people were free to come and trade. Throughout coastal Senegambia, markets were a place where diverse peoples, regardless of religion, language, or the polity they belonged to, were welcome. In the seventeenth century, Senegambian trading towns were characterized by an extraordinary degree of cultural, religious, and linguistic diversity. European visitors attested to this situation in the Gambian/Casamance trading communities of Albreda, Geregia, and Vintang, in the lower Gambia basin. The cultural pluralism—as we would term it today—and openness of these trading centers were also found in the coastal communities of Porto de Ale and Joal. Nevertheless, we do not know to what degree this pluralism and openness led to religious and cultural intermixture between the Jews and Muslims on the Petite Côte.[52] To the south, in precolonial Gambia and Casamance, even in time of conflict, merchants were often granted safe conduct so that they might continue to trade.[53] This tradition appears to have been a regional phenomenon, one to which the Teigne adhered when he warned the Portuguese not to attempt to harm those Jews trading in his realm.

Local Senegambian customs of offering hospitality to foreign merchants and ensuring their safety were extended to the Portuguese and to their Luso-African descendants no later than the sixteenth century. In the seventeenth century, the Jewish settlers of the Petite Côte enjoyed the same status as Mande merchants bringing captives from the Upper Gambia; as Felup (Floop; i.e., Diola or Jola) traders, bringing beeswax from the Casamance; and as generations of Luso-African traders who settled on the coast from the Gambia south to Bissau. Both the Teigne and the Bûr Síín were interacting with "their" Jewish merchants on the basis of established social relations on the Upper Guinea Coast. The protection enjoyed by the Sephardic communities of Senegal was part of an established local tradition of contact, tolerance, and cultural *métissage* between diverse peoples.

Identity in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Senegambia was remarkably fluid. Individuals often held multiple identities; these changes could be either sequential or—as in the case of traveling merchants—contingent upon the specific social context in which an individual found himself. These malleable and plural identities were characteristic of Africans in Greater Senegambia.[54] A similar model also came to define the Luso-African descendants of Portuguese settlers.[55] For instance, a trader might identify him- or herself in one instance as "Portuguese" and "Christian," but in another context as "Manding" and "Muslim." In this respect, the "Portuguese," as they were called, adopted local African ways of situating themselves in the sociocultural space of Senegambia.

The experience of dual identities was already familiar to many Portuguese New Christians. After 1497, Portuguese crypto-Jews became accustomed to living both as New Christians and as secret Jews.[56] When New Christian merchants arrived in Senegambia, the fortuitous conjuncture of identity models that were flexible and contextually determined may have played a significant role in the acceptance of such multiple identities by the wider Luso-African community. Those New Christians who settled in "Guiné do Cabo Verde" in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were traders; the Senegambian model facilitated the assumption of multiple identities by traveling merchants. In the Casamance and the Gambia, for example, oral traditions recount that visiting traders would be adopted by families in their host community; in consequence, the visitor might take on a local identity.[57] In West Africa, Portuguese New Christian traders readily adapted to a Senegambian model of multiple identities. Many New Christian merchants in sixteenth-century Senegambia continued to live both as Christians and as Jews (and perhaps, though this remains to be proven historically, on occasion, as ostensible Muslims).[58]

The case of the two early seventeenth-century Jewish communities on the Petite Côte is therefore significant, as it represents a transition in identity. Portuguese traders who publicly proclaimed themselves Jews were moving toward a fixed identity. Such a self-identification—Jewish and not Christian—is, for example, stridently proclaimed in the conversation with the Bûr Siín in 1612. Nevertheless, the new, public identity was not necessarily permanent. There is evidence that some Jewish merchants continued to present themselves as Christians when they traveled in regions where they were subject to the Inquisition and risked arrest.[59]

In the early seventeenth century, the arrival of Portuguese-Dutch "public" Jews in Northern Senegal may not have changed their relationship outside of the Petite Côte. For instance, Luís Fernandes Duarte (or Joshua Israel) had business with an African ruler who was, at least formally, a Christian: D. Sebastião, king of Bosis (or Bussis, the present day Pecixe island, Guiné-Bissau).[60] Not only did the trader refer to the African ruler as Sebastião, he also signed his letter with his own Christian name. Furthermore, he proposed to take one of the king's sons with him in his travels in the region. Most probably Duarte/Israel subsequently presented himself as a Christian in the context of their common business. This was a common situation, even in lands of liberty such as Amsterdam, as historian Yosef Kaplan has observed.[61]

But on the Guinea Coast, business was not always the main point. The prestige that Portuguese as Christians had gathered in the eyes of Africans during two hundred years of interaction was not to be renounced lightly. If there was a dual or multiple-identity model throughout the Senegambian region, there was also an absolute need for Portuguese traders or their descendants to adopt local rules and customs, because they were in African-ruled spaces and dependent on African rulers' good will.

However, at least for as long as they remained on the Petite Côte, the public Jews appear to have renounced their alternate identity as Christians. In this respect, Joal and Porto de Ale represent the beginning of a fixed European identity in Senegambia. Once Portuguese New Christians who had traveled to Amsterdam, undergone circumcision, and begun publicly to live as Jews brought this new life style to Senegal, in the first two decades of the seventeenth century, their capacity to assume multiple identities, at least on the Petite Côte, was diminished.

As long as the Northern Senegalese ports remained places where Jews were protected by African rulers, they were able to differentiate themselves from the Christians and to be accepted. As far as we know, that model was not exported to the other parts of Senegambia frequented by Jewish traders.

We know little about women in the Jewish communities of the Petite Côte. These trading communities were part of a Luso-African society in West Africa that comprised essentially immigrant men, many of whom lived with or were married to local African women. If any women accompanied their husbands from Amsterdam to Joal or Porto de Ale, they are not mentioned. In fact, emigration from Amsterdam was, for the most part, "*cosa de hombres*" (a man's thing).[62] More likely, Jewish men followed the widely spread practice of Portuguese in Africa—and of their descendants in Suriname—of establishing relationships with local women, preferably the daughters of local dignitaries or wealthy trading women.[63]

Here, of course, the crucial problem would be, How was Jewish identity transmitted to the offspring if the women were not of Sephardic origin? What role, if any, did notions of skin color play in the determination of status among adult males in the Jewish communities of the Petite Côte?[64] Was the Jewish identity of these African-born offspring inherited through the father?[65] Aviva Ben-Ur's contribution to the present volume affords a historical comparison in late seventeenth-century Suriname; together, her work and ours suggest that the answer to the last question was probably yes.

Jewish merchants followed matrimonial practices similar to those of other Portuguese in Guiné. André Alvares de Almada, a Cape Verdean and himself a *mestiço,* refers to a Jewish merchant named João Ferreira, nicknamed o Ganagoga. In the 1570s or '80s, Ganagoga lived at the court of the Grão Fulo, the Fulani ruler of Futa Tooro (northeastern Senegal), and he married the ruler's daughter. For the succeeding generation, that of Jacob Peregrino, archival documents from the Inquisition mention at least four mulattoes among the Jews of the Petite Côte.[66] These men are identified as Jews, and three of them are said to have come from specific places in Portugal. Nothing is known about the identity of their parents. But they were obviously the offspring of an earlier *métissage.* While two of these mulattoes are referred to as *"meos christãos novos"* (half New Christians),[67] one, Antonio Lopez de Mesquita, is referred to as a practicing Jew: *"e em Judeu se chama Moises de Mesquita."*[68] He was clearly an active member of the community, for he was present at the critical meeting with the Bûr Síín in 1612.

Perhaps these individuals had been born in Portugal. They, like many other members of the Petite Côte communities, may have traveled to Amsterdam to be circumcised and educated in the Jewish faith. But this possibility does not answer the question, Who were the mothers of these *mestiço* Jews? These women were certainly either African or Afro-European, but would they have been converts to Judaism? Their conversion would constitute an important step, tantamount to their social integration into the religious community. Unfortunately, we have not found any documents that would enable us to answer these questions.

In view of the demographic situation in Guinea, some Jews living in Senegambia probably followed the heterodox practice of passing on Jewish identity through the father. In 1686 in Guinala (present-day Guiné-Bissau) the French merchant and traveler Michel Jajolet de la Courbe encountered a Portuguese trader, one Signor Patrisio-Parese, whom he described as *"Portugais blanc, fils d'un Hollandais et d'une mulâtresse."*[69]

The man's identity is complex and intriguing: although biologically of mixed heritage, he is described as "white." In the context of coastal seventeenth-century society, the sobriquet probably alluded to high social status, rather than to skin color. More than likely his mother was a well-off trader. Parese is described as "Portuguese," though his mother is *métisse* and his father is Dutch. Parese, however, is not a Dutch name—unless, of course, his father was a Dutch Jew of Portuguese heritage. In this context, "Portuguese" identity is certainly synonymous with "Portuguese Jew." If the son was considered Portuguese, his identity had been transmitted through the father. La Courbe does not specifically mention religious identity, but in this context "Portuguese" implies that he was Sephardic.

Parese lived nearly three generations after the arrival of Jacob Peregrino on the Petite Côte. By then, only vestiges remained of the Portuguese Jewish communities. Would the transmission of identity have occurred in a similar manner seventy years earlier? We cannot be certain. What is clear is that the Jewish faith was transmitted across generations and that some religious conversion also took place, perhaps even outside of Luso-African families.

The Jesuits were aware of this situation, which strongly suggests that Jewish identity on the Petite Côte was not limited to the offspring of marriages between Portuguese Jews and Senegalese mothers. In 1624 the Portuguese Provincial of the Jesuits transmitted his concerns to the royal tribunal for religious matters: "Another reason is that according to what has been stated the majority of the [Portuguese] people on the Coast of Guinea are *da nação* and God grant that they are not pure Jews, and they live with the greatest of ease, and one knows the [ill] will they have for the Jesuits and what they are able to do here [in Portugal] and there [in Guinea], and at times one has come across *gentio* [pagans or, in general, local African people] whom they circumcise and who live in their [the Jews'] way, etc."[70]

We do not know the scale of these conversions. But Jewish proselytizing is not surprising if we remember that Portuguese and Luso-African Christians in Guiné not only raised their children as Christians but also tried to convert the African *grumetes* (those in maritime occupations) who worked with them and whom they often raised from childhood. There is no reason to believe that Portuguese (and Luso-African) Jews would not follow the same pattern.

Some Senegalese may even have been converted to Judaism in Amsterdam. In 1611, Martim de Lestringa, *"gelandes de nação"* (i.e., born in Zeeland) reported to the inquisitors of Lisbon that, while standing in front of the Amsterdam synagogue along with two merchants, Diogo Dias Querido and Diogo Nunes Belmonte, he had heard three blacks bemoaning the fact that their (African) friend had been converted: "And he recalls that when he, the declarant, was with the said Portuguese at the synagogue door, at the door were three black men deeply regretting that the said Jews had perverted and made Jew a black man their mate."[71]

Diogo Dias Querido (David Querido) and Diogo Nunes Belmonte (Jacob Israel Belmonte) were both leading members of the Bet Jacob congregation.[72] The conversion of blacks may have been part of a broader strategy by Dutch Jews to recruit Africans to help them on the Guinea coast. Later in 1611, the same Querido and Belmonte were reported to be actively involved in the Guinea trade: "They have on the said coast [of Guinea] five big well-rigged ships in good order, namely, three to stay, two to come and go, and to trade they have launches and small vessels to enter the Rivers [of Guinea]. To this business the said Diogo Dias has some black men from that coast in his house, who are learning the Dutch language, and they are taken in the vessels as translators."[73] These Africans may have been slaves or freedmen, but they were trained to be men whom their patrons could trust as agents of commerce.[74] Similar to other, Christian *grumetes*, they were supposed to be translators who could guide European travelers on the coast. In this circumstance conversion would have served to ensure security for the whole family and for the business enterprise. From Amsterdam to Guinea, trade and conversion were complementary.

By the 1660s however, according to the Cape Verdean merchant Lemos Coelho, Jewish identity was no longer being transmitted to the Luso-African descendants of the Petite Côte trading communities: "Hoje pella divina misericordia estão estes portos livres desta ruim gente, e só há alguns mestiços, seus filhos, os quais em meu tempo se reduzirão a religião catholica" (Today by God's Mercy these ports are free from this wicked people [the Jews], and there are only some *mestiços*, their children, who in my time have been reduced to the Catholic religion).[75]

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, notions of "race" do not appear to have been clearly articulated among the Jews of the Petite Côte, nor between them and their Senegalese neighbors and protectors. These early Sephardic communities had not distanced themselves from the prevailing model of identity formation followed by Africans, Portuguese, and Luso-Africans in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Guiné. In this model, skin color was not a rigidly determined a priori characteristic, but rather a flexible marker of cultural identity and profession.

This nonexclusivist identity concept in early seventeenth-century Senegal was similar to models of identity in the early Jewish community in Amsterdam.[76] At that time Jews of African or Luso-African descent were fully accepted members of the community. This is in striking contrast to the situation in the Sephardic community of later seventeenth-century Amsterdam, studied by Kaplan and Schorsch, and the Jewish community of eighteenth-century Suriname, studied by Ben-Ur.[77] According to Schorsch, there would have been a growing racial consciousness among Jews in Amsterdam toward the middle of the seventeenth century.[78] In Suriname, Ben-Ur clearly documents the development of race consciousness, based both on the concept of *os da nação* and on a discriminatory distinction between European Jews and Jews of African heritage.

Within Portugal, concepts of purity of blood were intimately tied to the ascribed identity of *"homem da nação,"* or *"homem da nação dos cristãos novos."*[79] Implicitly, by this definition an individual might be Christian, but he was ineluctably identified with his Jewish heritage. Outside of Portugal and the Portuguese overseas possessions, ascribed identity linked Jews and New Christians together as "*os da nação,*" or as "Portuguese."[80]

In like manner, the Portuguese concept of *limpeza de sangue,* or "purity of blood," also served to mark individuals indelibly on the basis of their ancestry. Nevertheless, it is important to recognize the socially constructed nature of this concept. Kaplan acknowledges that "the ideological origins of this concept were not racial but religious and social."[81] In contradistinction to a West African model of flexible identity, this Iberian (and European) notion of identity effectively created an a priori lifelong category into which the individual fit, regardless of social and cultural factors. If this ascriptive identity was imposed upon New Christians and Jews alike over the course of the sixteenth century, a comparable evolution of increasingly rigid categories based upon supposed descent and on skin color as an expression of religious ancestry made itself evident in the course of the seventeenth century.

This discrimination, first evidenced in decrees of the Amsterdam Mahamad, the governing body of the Jewish community, in the 1640s, was soon reflected in Suriname. It is, however, significant that early seventeenth-century Inquisition sources give no evidence of similar discrimination between European and mulatto Jews in Senegal in the first two decades of the century.

Although "white" and "black" existed as classificatory categories in seventeenth-century Senegambia, these terms were not descriptive of physical appearance. Some Africans and Luso-Africans were considered to be white, though their skin was otherwise. Might this fact have served to diminish the importance of skin color as a parameter for ascribed status among mulatto members of the early Jewish communities on the Petite Côte? Parenthetically, these Jewish communities were so small that, at least at the time they were founded, in the early seventeenth century, they may have needed all adult males in the village to form a minyan.[82]

Legislation by Amsterdam's Mahamad certainly indicates the spread of discriminatory attitudes in the metropolis. However, these ideas would not have found fertile ground in early seventeenth-century Senegal, particularly as the Senegalese Jews owed their survival to local African rulers such as the Bûr Siín. Contemporary records of the Portuguese Jewish communities in Senegal are more rare after about 1622. Nevertheless, descriptions of the Luso-African communities by European travelers (French, Portuguese, English, Dutch) make it absolutely clear that skin color was not a criterion for membership in these communities and that neither the Portuguese nor their Luso-African descendants associated skin color, in any way, with social status.

By the end of the seventeenth century, the Jewish communities of Joal and Porto de Ale had largely disappeared from the historical record, although mixed traits of Judaism were still observed by European travelers.[83] What happened to the descendants of Jacob Peregrino and his coreligionists? Many no doubt migrated again, after the Dutch occupied northeast Brazil in 1630. Even before 1620 members of the Senegalese community were traveling to Brazil, then under Portuguese control, to engage in the sugar trade. The Dutch occupation brought religious tolerance that attracted numerous Portuguese Jews. A generation later, after the Dutch had been forced out of Brazil in 1654, many of the same families fled, to New York, Curaçao, or Suriname. Hence, it is at least remotely conceivable that the Pelegrino family of Suriname were directly descended from the rabbi of the Petite Côte, Jacob Peregrino.

At the periphery of Portugal's overseas empire at the dawn of the seventeenth century, European traders in West Africa were subject to social and economic regulations imposed by African rulers. This situation worked to the advantage of Dutch Jews of Portuguese origin who sought and obtained the protection of three Senegalese Muslim rulers, the kings of Cayor, Baol, and Siín. The Jewish merchants who settled in Porto de Ale and Joal established close rapport with their hosts. The support of these kings was based on local Senegalese traditions of welcoming foreign traders and was further encouraged by a Jewish discourse that underscored shared Muslim and Jewish religious attitudes, especially the rejection of the Catholic reliance on religious images as a focus for worship.

This anti-iconolatric attitude was central to seventeenth-century Jewish religious identity. But as the subject for specifically Muslim-Jewish discourse, the arguments may have been refined through post-1497 Jewish experience in the Ottoman Empire and in Morocco.

In Senegal, a defining characteristic of inter-group relations was the fact that individuals often had multiple religious and cultural identities. These identities were contextually contingent, and they often changed in the course of a lifetime. Some Sephardim, once they had publicly asserted their Jewish identity, moved toward a single, fixed identity. However, once settled in Senegal, other Jews, who had already lived both as Christians and as Jews, adopted the flexible Senegalese identity model. Not only did they themselves move back and forth between Jewish and Christian public identities as they traveled between the Petite Côte and other, predominantly Christian ports; they also were open to assimilating their own children, born of African mothers, into the Jewish communities of Joal and Porto de Ale.

CHAPTER TEN

"These Indians Are Jews!"

Lost Tribes, Crypto-Jews, and Jewish Self-Fashioning in Antonio de Montezinos's Relación *of 1644*

RONNIE PERELIS

THIS ESSAY EXPLORES THE LITERARY construction of crypto-Jewish identity in Antonio de Montezinos's *Relación* of 1644. Montezinos's narrative of religious transformation is framed by his travels within the polychromatic social context of the early modern Atlantic world. In the *Relación*, Montezinos's evolving persona is shaped by his face-to-face encounters with a mysterious group of Indians he meets during his travels in South America. His search for these Indians' true identity calls his own sense of self into question, opening the way for a radical reassessment of his hidden Judaism.

The text known as the *Relación de Aharon Levi, alias Antonio de Montezinos* was initially presented as an oral deposition by the Portuguese converso Antonio de Montezinos to a council of eminent leaders (or *Mahamad*) of Amsterdam's Sephardic community in 1644.[1] The *Relación* tells the story of Montezinos's travels in New Granada, roughly today's Colombia, from 1639 until the summer of 1644. While crossing the Andes, Montezinos had a laconic conversation with a group of Indian porters in his hire (1–2). Sometime later, while imprisoned by the Inquisition in Cartagena de Indias in 1639, he had an uncanny epiphany: the Indians he had met in the mountains must have been Jews. In the event that he was able to secure his release from the inquisitorial prison, Montezinos resolved that he would find the "Jewish" Indians and unravel the mystery of their true identity (3). As it turned out, Montezinos did just that, and upon his release from prison, in February 1641, he reportedly located the leader of the Indian porters, returned to the Andes, and found the group of native Americans he identified as the descendants of the lost Israelite tribe of Reuben. The Reubenites, recognizing Montezinos as one of their own, soon accepted him as a brother and entrusted him with a message of signal importance for the Jews of the global diaspora, namely, the proximate unfolding of the messianic redemption (7–9).

By all reports, Montezinos left Amsterdam to return to the Americas shortly after having presented his story to the Mahamad, but news of his discovery, and its implications for the future of the Jewish community, soon leaked out. While his intended audience was the Jews of Amsterdam, the story became of central concern to Christian millenarians, who saw it as yet another proof confirming their eschatology. After circulating orally for five years, Montezinos's account found its way into print as part of Thomas Thorowgood's *Jewes in America; or, Probabilities That the Americans Are of That Race,* a curious treatise first printed in London in 1650.[2] Thorowgood acquired his copy of Montezinos's narrative from his friend John Dury, an English theologian who lived briefly in Amsterdam, at the time of Montezinos's arrival and deposition. Dury received his copy of the *Relación* in January of 1649 from his friend Menasseh ben Israel (1604–57), a prominent Jewish scholar who engaged in extensive ecumenical discussions with Christian theologians across Europe. Menasseh claimed to have been present at Montezinos's deposition before the Mahamad. Montezinos's discovery fed directly into Menasseh's contention that, when Jews inhabited all the world's continents, the millennium and the coming of the Messiah could not be far off. On this point he was in agreement with Thorowgood's treatise and the general Christian millenarian view. Menasseh, however, took issue with Thorowgood's interpretation of Montezinos's discovery and its implications for the future of world Jewry. Thus, following a flurry of letters with various theologians, both Christian and Jewish, Menasseh decided to write a treatise that would challenge Thorowgood's reading of Montezinos and also clarify his own position regarding the Reubenites, their identification with the American Indians, and the timing of the millennium. This treatise evolved into Menasseh's *Miqweh Israel, Esto es Esperanza de Israel,* a book first printed in Amsterdam in 1650 in both Spanish and Latin, and then in an English translation, *The Hope of Israel* (London, 1650).[3] Menasseh also used Montezinos's *Relación* as his central proof text, printing it in full at the beginning of his treatise. In this embedded form, the *Relación* gained its greatest notoriety.[4]

Menasseh's version of the *Relación* focuses on what is arguably the most unusual and thus interesting aspect of Montezinos's life: his discovery of the Reubenites. The text reveals little about Montezinos's life before or after this central event. It informs us of his name, both Spanish and Hebrew (Aharon Levi), and place of birth (Villaflor, Portugal), but says little about his religious orientation prior to his encounter with the Indians. Was he a devout Catholic? an actively Judaizing converso? a complete agnostic? or an in-between hybrid? Together with so many other conversos who immigrated to Spanish America, Montezinos would likely have presented himself as a practicing Catholic so as to avoid inquisitorial scrutiny. According to his account, he was arrested by the Inquisition at Cartagena, but he does not say why.[5] He recounts that, while in prison, he regularly recited a series of classic Jewish prayers, albeit in a bastardized form. These two details could easily point to Montezinos's crypto-Jewish proclivities.

Rabbi Menasseh offers a few more biographical details in the body of his *Esperanza*. He informs his readers that he repeatedly spoke with Montezinos during the latter's stay in Amsterdam in 1644. According to Menasseh, Montezinos swore "in my presence and in the presence of many people of quality, . . . that everything that he said was the truth" (42). Menasseh uses the *Relación* as the central proof text for his own theories regarding the origin of the American Indians and the signs pointing to an imminent messianic redemption. The importance of the *Relación* to Menasseh's larger project explains why he goes out of his way to defend Montezinos's reliability and credibility as a witness. Menasseh tells the reader, "Overall, what I give most credence to is the report of our Montezinos, a Portuguese by nation and a Jew by religion, born in a town in Portugal called Villaflor, the son of honored and well-known parents" (41). Montezinos's national, religious, and familial identity ensures an inherent degree of credibility with the rabbi and his Sephardic audience. Menasseh mentions Montezinos's imprisonment by the Inquisition as one of those things that "happens to many other of those born in Portugal, descendants of those forcibly converted by the King Don Manuel" (41). According to Menasseh, Montezinos can be believed because he shares in the common trauma of the conversos of the Amsterdam community, the descendants of those who were forcibly converted, including Menasseh and most of his generation.

Montezinos's credibility, however, is not solely based on his ethno-religious identity. Menasseh describes him as "a good person, without any ambition." The tale can be believed because it brought no material gain to its teller. He came to Amsterdam only to bring to his fellow Jews the "joyous tidings." Once in Amsterdam he refused to profit in any way from his troubles.[6] After staying six months, Montezinos returned to the New World, living the last two years of his life within the open Jewish community of Pernambuco. Menasseh tells the reader that Montezinos attested to the truth of his story until his very last day.[7]

Montezinos's arrest by the Inquisition in Cartagena is the only event mentioned in his *Relación* that can be corroborated with external evidence.[8] The records of this inquisitorial tribunal are incomplete, but reference to a certain "Antonio de Montessinos, a native of Villaflor in the Kingdom of Portugal" can be found in the description of cases (*relación de causas*) sent by the tribunal's judges to the Supreme Council of the Inquisition in Madrid in 1642. This document states that a certain "Montessinos" was arrested in Cartagena de Indias on September 3, 1639, on suspicion of being a certain "*fulano* Montessinos," who had been denounced as a Judaizer some years before. Montezinos denied that he was this "*fulano* Montessinos," and the inquisitors believed him, although there remains the possibility that the two individuals, Montessinos and Montezinos, were actually one and the same. But lacking the evidence to pursue the case any further, the inquisitors ordered Montezinos's release from prison on February 19, 1641, without ever having formally charged him with any infraction.[9]

Montezinos's arrest and imprisonment coincided with the widespread anticonverso crackdown that followed the discovery of the "Gran Complicidad" (Great Conspiracy) of 1639. On the eve of Portugal's rebellion against Spanish rule in 1640, Spanish colonial authorities came to believe that Portuguese conversos living in the Americas were conspiring with Spain's enemies to take control of Spain's American colonies and their vital trade routes. The conspiracy was largely a fiction, but it unleashed a wellspring of anti-Portuguese, anti-Jewish sentiment among Spanish authorities throughout the Indies. It also served to alert the Inquisition to the dangers posed by Portuguese conversos resident in the Indies and, in turn, triggered a wave of arrests and dozens of trials, both in Mexico and Peru, as well as in New Granada.[10] Regardless of his actual religious commitment or his role in seditious activity, the mere fact that Montezinos was a New Christian of Portuguese origin would have made him an easy target of inquisitorial persecution during this period.

For most of its history the text of Montezinos's *Relación* has been seen as inseparable from Menasseh's text. Scholars have read it as a curious documentary addition to the Israelite Indian theory or, more often, as Cecil Roth put it, the ravings of a "wild-eyed Marrano."[11] It has been mined for its positivist historiographical value, but the text offers much more. The *Relación* deserves to be read not merely as an appendix to Menasseh's *Esperanza* but also as an independent text.[12] Montezinos's record of his travels in South America is an autobiographical narrative that engages the generic practices and intellectual concerns of its historical moment. That it originated as an oral deposition and was published six years later (and after Montezinos's death) complicates but does not vitiate Montezinos's autobiographic voice.

There are severe limitations to any textual history of Antonio de Montezinos's *Relación*. The chief issue is of a "clean" authorship. The text, as it has been preserved in print, is based on Montezinos's oral testimony. It was recorded in the third person in the style of juridical depositions, and almost nothing is known of its textual life before it found its way into Thorowgood's treatise almost six years later. As such, it is difficult to say that Antonio de Montezinos actually "wrote" the text of his *Relación*.

Margarita Zamora's conception of Columbus's diaries as composed by a "corporate author"—an amalgam of authors, editors, and readers of the "Columbian texts," including Columbus himself, his son Fernando, Bartolomé de Las Casas, and Luis de Santángel, just to mention a few—can be applied to Montezinos's text. It is a work composed by the transformation of an oral account into a written document by the men who listened to it and the secretaries who recorded it.[13] The subsequent publications and translations of the *Esperanza* and consequently of the *Relación* further transformed the text into a corporate entity.

In the early modern period acts of self-writing were often complicated affairs, involving a network of interested parties: the main subject, who would recount his or her experience; the reader, who asked, or demanded, that the account be given; and the actual or potential readers of the account. Often, as in the case of juridical depositions, the text was fixed in writing by a third party, who recorded the oral statements of the autobiographic subject. Even beyond the issue of transcription, the mere fact that a superior often solicited these texts created a highly mediated form of literary expression. This mediation is a central feature of the suggestive and engaging narratives of the *Discurso de la vida,* which began each inquisitorial interrogation, the confessional accounts of nuns and other religious, and the ubiquitous *relación.*[14] As opposed to the egocentric self-reflection of modern autobiography—"I am the matter of my book"—early modern autobiographic writing is a means to an end.[15] There is always an implicit or explicit reader/addressee who is addressed and who often has demanded the writing in the first place.

The author was first and foremost a reporter, needing to present his or her case to the reader. While containing instances of unguarded self-reflection and emotional vulnerability, these autobiographic texts were primarily constructed to effect a particular end: to prove the subject's innocence, to gain a reward for service and loyalty, to prove piety or orthodoxy, and so on. This does not mean that these texts were purely cynical or calculated acts of manipulation. Rather, the readers' demands and expectations had an impact on the framing and shaping of the narrative and affected the way the author would tell his or her story. It could be said that the "interestedness" of their narratives actually gave many writers the structure necessary to engage in self-expression and introspection.[16]

The *Relación* clearly presents itself as a report. It is ostensibly interested in bringing the message of the Reubenites to their Jewish brethren in the diaspora. On another level, however, it is a vehicle for Montezinos's Jewish self-fashioning. Montezinos begins his story as a converso of unclear Jewish commitment, but by the end of his narrative, he has been transformed into a messenger of the imminent redemption. The *Relación* indirectly lobbies its audience, the representatives of the Amsterdam Jewish community, to accept Montezinos as a sincerely repentant ex-converso, and more importantly, as a messianic hero.

The *Relación* addresses a range of audiences and is in dialogue with a broad spectrum of issues: the arrival of the Messiah, the political fate of the Spanish empire, the location of the lost tribes, the anthropology of the Native Americans, and the personal trajectory of the converso traveler Antonio de Montezinos. This essay is concerned with how the *Relación* tells Montezinos's story of religious awakening and identity transformation. Montezinos's embrace of his hidden Judaism comes about through a face-to-face encounter with a group of Indians who also have a Jewish secret.

It is important to remember that Montezinos was not the first European to identify the American Indians with the lost tribes of Israel.[17] Since Columbus encountered the "marvelous" West Indies at the end of the fifteenth century, European intellectuals worked hard at placing these new territories and new peoples within their operative cartographic and anthropological categories. For many Europeans, especially intellectuals and other writers who had never ventured to the New World, the natives of the Americas could not simply be Caribs, Taínos, Aztecs, or Incas; they had to be Carthaginians, Atlanteans, Israelites, or any number of ancient ethnicities. They located their racial origin within the classical or biblical world that formed the basis of the early modern European episteme.[18] European thinkers in the early modern period populated the Americas with a host of lost peoples from the ancient past in order to the turn the *terra incognita* of the New World into the *terra cognita* with which they were familiar.

The origin of the American Indians was a widely discussed issue for Northern European and Iberian intellectuals during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It was an issue of particular importance to Spanish political theorists and messianic Catholic and Protestant theologians in the years leading up to and following the composition of Montezinos's *Relación*. Bartolomé de Las Casas, José de Acosta, Gregorio García, Diego Durán, Juan de Torquemada, just to name a few, all dealt explicitly with the question of the Indians' Israelite origin. While the theory was rarely supported by any of these authors, they all discussed it with utter seriousness.

Beyond these scholarly treatises, the vastness and unintelligibility of the New World inspired a fantastical and elastic epistemology among many of the conquistadors. Columbus was certain that he was nearing the terrestrial paradise; Bernal Díaz del Castillo could not help but think of the valley of Mexico as the lands described in the famous romance of chivalry known as the *Amadís*; countless explorers went searching for the cities of El Dorado and the kingdom of the Amazons. The need to translate the newness of the Americas—its terrifying and marvelous nature and cultures—into something known and domesticated encouraged Europeans to apply western terms and concepts to the new American reality. The wider discussion regarding the Indians' ethnic origin no doubt gave Montezinos the license to suspect a connection between himself and the Indians he encountered.

In addition to offering yet another interpretation of the Jewish origins of the Amerindians, the *Relación* also addressed another issue of central concern to both Christians and Jews: the arrival of the Messiah. According to the biblical prophecies and to later Jewish and Christian authorities, the reappearance of the lost tribes of Israel was a prerequisite for the ultimate redemptive process. Montezinos's *Relación* appeared at a time of heightened messianic speculation among both Christians and Jews.[19] Theologians were looking for the signs heralding the end of days, and the exotic Indies were the perfect source of signs ready to be interpreted. Montezinos's account became an active participant in these pan-European discussions. The *Relación* was first published within Thorowgood's millenarian tract arguing for the Jewish origin of the New England Indians, and Menasseh's *Esperanza* was dedicated to interpreting Montezinos's report in light of contemporary global politics and the messianic prophesies of the Bible. Hopes for the Messiah's arrival were not necessarily the domain of all-out quacks in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. While Montezinos's assertion was somewhat extraordinary, it fit easily within the contemporary parameters of educated and reasonable discourse.

Montezinos's possible crypto-Jewish background might also have been a contributing factor to his "discovery" of the Reubenites. In his analysis of Inquisitorial testimonies, David Gitlitz noticed that crypto-Jews incorporated notions about the lost tribes into their messianic speculations and hopes. In 1572 one Portuguese *cristãa nova*, Filipa Marques, reportedly said that "the Messiah still had to come, and he was going to bring with him the Twelve Tribes of Israel" (O Messias ainda havia de vir e havia de trazer as doze tribus de Israel). The famous crypto-Jewish martyr of Chile, Francisco Maldonado da Silva, was recorded almost a century later in 1627 as saying that he "was of the two tribes of Israel that were preserved in the earthly paradise awaiting the end of the world, which was imminent, for God to assemble them." An equally cryptic statement was heard from Ana Cortés, a Mallorcan crypto-Jew, who stated in 1678 that "there was a tribe and a half that were wandering, spread out and lost around the world, and that Moses and Aaron were going to come to take them out of their captivity."[20] Jonathan Schorsch sees the mention of the "tribe and a half" as referring to the tribe of Reuben and the half tribe of Menasseh, its neighbor on the east bank of the Jordan.[21] These images of a militarily powerful, yet geographically remote tribe waiting for God's orders to come and redeem the Jews bear a strong resemblance to the Reubenites described in the *Relación* and clearly partake of the wider narrative network—both Jewish and Christian—describing secret armies living in far-off kingdoms waiting to come to the rescue. This network of circulating texts, ideas, and dreams deeply informed Montezinos's encounter with the Indians and shaped the way that his experience was recorded and received by his audience.

Montezinos's Andean narrative begins on a stormy night while he and his team of Indian porters are crossing the mountains. The wind knocks the cargo to the ground and the Indians begin to curse their fate. Montezinos overhears their bitter rumblings:

> Worn down by their day's toil, the Indians began to curse their fate, saying that this and much more did they deserve because of their sins. At that moment the aforementioned Francisco tried to cheer them up, telling them to have patience, because briefly they will have a day of rest. To this they responded that it was not right that they should have it because they treated such a saintly nation—indeed, the "best of the world"—so cruelly. Furthermore, all of the affliction and atrocities [*inhumanidades*] that the Spaniards have inflicted upon them were well deserved because of their guilt. (1–2)

The next night, when they set up camp and are finally resting, Montezinos takes out some crackers and brings them to Francisco, and says: "Take this, even if you speak ill of the Spaniards" (1–2). The Indian responds that he "did not complain about them enough. They are a cruel, tyrannical, and completely inhumane people. However, soon enough he will see their evil punished by means of a hidden people [*gente oculta*]." In this scene Montezinos's Judaism is completely "out of the picture." He is a Spaniard seeking his fortune in the Americas. He lives and acts exactly as any other Spanish colonizer would. He reaches out to the Indian with a gift, but he does so as a Spaniard. His rebuke to the Indian—Take some, even if you speak badly of the Spaniards—implies that he is being kind to the Indians despite Francisco's mendacity toward the Spaniards, himself included. Not only does Montezinos present himself as a Spaniard to the Indians; the Indians understand him to be their oppressor. Francisco throws his bitter indictment of the Spanish colonial project directly at Montezinos.

At this point in the story Francisco and Montezinos occupy clearly delimited spheres: Spaniard and Indian, conquistador and vanquished. As the story unfolds, however, these lines quickly begin to blur. Underneath Montezinos's performed conquistador identity lies another narrative persona—the crypto-Jew—and it is this persona that begins to emerge in the next scene as Montezinos makes sense of Francisco's eschatology of oppression and deliverance brought about by the "hidden people."

After this initial journey, Montezinos is arrested by the Inquisition while passing through Cartagena de Indias. Accused of being an active Judaizer, he remains under investigation for over a year and half. In jail he experiences an uncanny epiphany while reciting his morning blessings: "Blessed be the name of *Adonay* who has not made me an idolater, a barbarian, a Negro, or an Indian." Upon saying "Indian" he was overtaken by the thought that these Indians are Hebrews. He began to say the prayer again, and once more he was caught by the same thought. He said, "Am I crazy or out of my head [*juicio*]? How could it be that these Indians are Hebrews"(3).

This blessing is actually an idiosyncratic version of a common Jewish prayer. Because access to Jewish books was prohibited by the *Santo Oficio*, crypto-Jews who desired to observe their Jewish faith relied on oral traditions; these fragile memories of stories and prayers were consistently subject to amazing distortions from their original Judaic origins.[22] Whereas the original Hebrew liturgy includes blessings of thanksgiving for being "not made a heathen, or a slave" Montezinos's bastardized version adopts, instead, a racial hierarchy of peoples whom he is thankful not to be.

Montezinos returns to the same realization every morning during his prayers. Convinced that there must be some truth to this identification with the Indians, Montezinos swears that upon his release from jail—with the help of the Almighty—he will find the Indian Francisco and resolve the mystery (3).

Montezinos says *"me retraté"*—I made a portrait of myself. Confused by the identity of Francisco and his fellow Indians, he catches a new and bewildered sense of himself. By saying a prayer that delineates who he is not, he begins to question the rigidity of those distinctions. What began as his ethnic and religious opposite, in a flash becomes his mirror image: "These Indians are Jews!" He reads beyond the obvious markers of the Indians' difference and sees his own hidden identity reflected in the Indians' secret.

When Montezinos was traveling across the mountains and first heard the Indians' story he was unable to comprehend it; his sense of power and superiority complicated his approach toward the Indians. He did not stand before them, but rather above them. Even his initial overture of kindness and humanity—his offering of crackers to the crestfallen Indians—reflects the condescension of the powerful to the weak. Both he and the Indians were locked in the roles of master and servant. When he heard their cryptic history Montezinos could only understand the aspect of their narrative in which these roles were maintained, that is, he being the master—who may feel guilty about his power and thus respond with a gift—and they the servants, oppressed and helpless. He was unable to see the Indians as anything other than what they appeared to be: a generic group of "*indios*" complaining about their poor lot in history—certainly nothing extraordinary in the Americas of the seventeenth century.

It appears that while in prison in Cartagena, with his own sense of personal security, honor, and pride shaken, he began to intuit, however hazily and subconsciously, the basic shape of the Indian's story of persecution. More in touch with his Jewishness—identified in this context as the persecuted, the messianic, and the hidden—he began to see his reflection in their tightly veiled narrative of redemption. The Indians became a mirror to his own desperate situation: they were both oppressed by the Spanish, they both hid an alternative identity, and they were both awaiting a this-worldly redemption.

Arguably, Montezinos's identification with the Indians is little more than a classic instance of the appropriation of the subaltern into the intelligible categories of the imperial imaginary. The Indian cannot simply be an Indian; he must be me, in order for me to "grasp" his identity. Is not Montezinos, despite his apparent transformation, simply participating in what Emmanuel Levinas would call the "imperialism of the same"?[23] He seems to be able to accept the Indian only in terms of his own self.

This totalizing move of appropriation of the other into the self is at the center of early modern attempts to locate the Amerindians within the anthropological schema of the Old World, of which Montezinos's narrative is an obvious participant. But the details of Montezinos's experience with the Indians allows for a (perhaps only partial) rupture of the closed circle of appropriation. As reflected in the ensuing narrative, Montezinos seeks out the Indian, not to dominate or "enlighten" him, but rather to learn from him. His humility and curiosity, along with his apparently sincere transformation of identity, point to the possibility of a relationship of dialogue, vulnerability, and openness with the other on his own terms. The analysis that follows charts the possibilities and limitations of this intersubjective relationship as reflected within the text.

Upon his release from the Inquisitorial prison in Cartagena, Montezinos set off to find Francisco. He located him in the river port of Honda and reminded him of the laconic conversation they had shared in the mountains. Montezinos asked Francisco to accompany him on a journey. It was on this journey away from suspecting eyes and ears that Montezinos revealed his hidden Judaism to his Indian brother: "He revealed himself to the Indian, telling him these words: I am a Hebrew of the tribe of Levi, my god is *Adonay*, and everything else is a lie" (4). The Indian was shocked and responded with a question, "What are your fathers' names?" Montezinos replied, "Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob." Francisco continued to question him: "Don't you have another Father?" "Yes, Luis de Montezinos." After some angry back and forth, the Indian asked, exasperated, "Are you not a child of Israel?" Francisco's interrogation—while appearing to border on the absurdly pedantic—was his way of verifying Montezinos's Hebraic credentials: "Who are you? Are you really Jewish?" Francisco turned the identity game back on Montezinos, and it was he who must now prove himself.

Montezinos responds with complete candor to Francisco's questions. He appears before him vulnerable and humble. He defers to Francisco as his teacher and guide who deserves full disclosure and honesty. Instead of trying desperately to bury his Jewish ancestry—as would be expected for an upwardly mobile New Christian—here Montezinos resurrects this heritage in hopes of finding common ground with Francisco, his former servant.

The detailed testimonies of accused crypto-Jews in inquisitorial records point to the journey as a common locus of Marrano unmasking. There are many instances in which a converso child is initiated into the secret of his family's Judaism while taking a walk in the countryside with an older brother or parent. In other cases, as in the *Relación*, one Marrano reveals himself to another while on a journey, far away from the prying eyes and ears of inquisitorial informers.[24] What is different about this unmasking (*des-cubrimiento*), however, is that the Marrano reveals himself, not to another Marrano running from the Inquisition, but to a hitherto unknown part of the Jewish people.[25]

Montezinos reveals himself to Francisco believing that there is some sort of kinship between them. He tells him his Hebrew name, his tribal lineage, and his belief—despite his outward trappings of Catholicism—in the *"Dios de Israel,"* hoping that these statements will resonate with the Indian. He does not understand why, but his experience in prison made it clear to him that a mysterious link exists between himself and Francisco. Somehow Francisco is also a secret Jew, but instead of hiding beneath a cloak of Spanish Catholicism, his Jewishness is hidden beneath his "Indianness."

After this initial encounter, Francisco invites Montezinos to join him on another journey. Before moving forward, Francisco wants to be sure that Montezinos is ready for the trek: "The Indian said to him, if you are a man of initiative, courage, and endurance that would dare come with me you will come to know that which you desire to know. However, I warn you, that you will go on foot, and you will eat toasted corn, and you will do everything as I tell you" (5). In order to learn the secret of their shared identity, Montezinos must become like his Indian brother. He must go by foot—no mules or Indian servants. He must eat corn like a poor Indian. Finally, he needs to listen to the directives of the Indian who was previously his servant but who is a leader of his tribe (*Cacique*). "Before the Journey, Francisco tells Montezinos to: empty the contents of your saddle bags, put on these rope sandals [*alpargatas*], take this stick and follow me. And thus he did, leaving behind his cloak [*capa*] and sword [*espada*] and everything else that he brought with him"(5–6). The unraveling of his "Spanish-ness" continues. He must literally strip himself of the markers that signify him as a powerful conquistador: he must empty out his bags of all their goods, he must remove the quintessential signs of nobility—the *capa y espada*—and follow Francisco into the jungle.

They travel together that entire week until the Sabbath and then again until Tuesday morning, climbing mountains and fording rivers until they encounter a river "as big as the Duero." At this point Francisco tells Montezinos that "here you will see your brothers." And it is here that the laconic conversation Francisco and Montezinos shared in the mountains two years earlier and the intuition Montezinos had in his prison cell become clarified.

From the other side of the river a group of Indians arrive in canoes, embrace their visitor, and together they recite the ancient Hebrew prayer of the "Shema."[26] With Francisco as translator, the Indians relay a series of nine messages to Montezinos through Francisco. They explain that they are the children of Abraham, Isaac, Israel, and Reuben, that they believe in one God, and that they have a prophetic tradition stating that a "Messenger" is due to arrive. The Reubenites constantly repeat these messages to Montezinos each day of his stay with them.

Montezinos grows frustrated with the constant repetition of these messages. Francisco's translation into Spanish is not enough; Montezinos needs more information in order to appreciate their full meaning. Before arriving at the Reubenites' camp, Francisco warns Montezinos to be patient with the Reubenites' method of transmission: "Do not be shocked or upset, nor should you imagine that these men will tell you the second idea until you have fully grasped the first" (7). Francisco initiates Montezinos's unmasking. This process requires more than Montezinos's acknowledgment of his Judaism and his "molting" of the external features of his *hispanidad*.[27] In order to hear the other's story he must render himself humble, without demands or expectations.

After three days of hearing the same message Montezinos grows frustrated. He surreptitiously (*dissimuladamente*) grabs hold of a canoe and tries to cross the river to their inner kingdom. The Reubenites knock the canoe over before he can cross. After rescuing him from the current, the Indians, through Francisco, rebuke his temerity: "Do not think that through force or madness you will be able to leave here with what you desire."

Montezinos cannot directly access the world of the Reubenites. He is unable to enter into dialogue with them or to "extract" the meaning of their message through force or cunning. Montezinos is dependant on Francisco's mediation and guidance, and it is only after leaving the Reubenites that Francisco begins to explain the implications of the Reubenites' "*nueve cosas*" to him. In this instance as well, Francisco warns Montezinos to not press him to explain the secrets. "The Indian Francisco responded, I will tell you what you will come to know, but do not rush me. I will show you the truth as I learnt it from the tradition of my ancestors. However, if you press me, which I am afraid you will . . . , then I will be forced to tell you lies" (11). Montezinos must learn how to read the messages of the Reubenites on their terms, not his.[28] If he approaches Francisco with force, instead of respect, he will be treated with guile. Montezinos's frustrated comprehension of the Reubenites' message is integral to his story of spiritual transformation; it is a test of his humility, of how far he has gone in renouncing his power over the natives, and it is a test he initially fails. Only through patience and respect for his interlocutor does Montezinos come to understand that which he desires to know.

On their return journey, Francisco explains the pre-Columbine history of the lost tribe and its relationship to the other American Indians: "Your brothers, the Children of Israel, were brought to this land by God. He made great miracles for them—wondrous mysteries—things that if I tell you, you will not believe. This is what my parents told me. We, the Indians, came to this land, we waged war on them [the Israelites], we treated them worse than the Spaniards treat us" (11–12). Francisco explains that his forefathers followed the deceptive leadership of their "*Mohanes*" (translated within the text as "magicians," or *hechizeros*) and persecuted the Children of Israel, chasing them into the depths of the jungle. None of those who pursued the Israelites into the jungle, however, would return alive. After a succession of military failures the *Mohanes* admitted their error. They told their people that "the God of these Children of Israel is the true God, all that is written on their stones is true; at the end of days, they will become masters of the nations of the world, people will come to these lands who will bring many things with them, and once all of the land is well stocked, these children of Israel will come out from where they are and become the rulers of the entire land, as it once was theirs. Those of you who desire to be fortunate, attach yourself to them" (12–13). Francisco's family heeded this advice and became trusted servants to the "Children [*Hijos*] of Israel." His family became part of a special alliance between the Israelites and a select group of Indians who heeded the *Mohanes*' advice. While these Indians are not exactly *Hijos de Israel*, together they constitute a secret Hebreo-Indian alliance wherein the eschatological fortunes of the Jewish diaspora are intimately linked to the oppression and redemption of the Indians.[29]

The cycle of oppression and redemption—of violence and divine justice—is about to turn again: those who were once the oppressors became the oppressed, and now the new oppressors—the Spaniards—are about to receive their due. Montezinos's *Relación* offers a counternarrative of European colonialism; instead of conceiving of the Indian as the passive recipient of European mastery, consumption, and control, the Reubenites and their Indian allies share an epic prehistory that is linked to a prophetic future wherein they, the downtrodden, will imminently bring about a global redemption.

This point is made clear to Montezinos upon his return from the Reubenites. Francisco introduces him to three other Indian *hermanos*. Montezinos reveals himself to them as "a Hebrew from the tribe of Levi, whose God is *Adonay*." Hearing this they embrace him and say: "One day you will see us and you will not recognize us. We are all brothers; with Compassion did God make us all. Do not be worried for this land. All of us Indians have our orders. Once we finish off these Spaniards we will go and take you all out of your captivity, if God wills it, which He does will it, because his word can never falter" (15–16). Montezinos has come full circle. He begins as a colonizer, part of the engine of oppression exploiting the Indians. Standing before the other and (literally) discovering him—seeing beyond his mask—he is able to reveal an identity that he himself has been hiding and suppressing. He sheds the cloak of his "Spanishness" and is able to hear a message of redemption for both the Indians and his own people. Seeing himself in their face and in their story, Montezinos realizes his brotherhood with the oppressed—"we are all brothers" (*todos somos hermanos*)—and is able to embrace his secret and persecuted Judaism. Despite his outward appearance, the Hebreo-Indians accept him as one of their own. They remind him that on that great day they too will cast off their masks: “One day you will see us and you will not recognize us. We are all brothers; with Mercy did God make us all.”

Montezinos crossed the Atlantic to tell the Old World Jews of Amsterdam about an alternative Jewish reality. The Reubenites were powerful, independent, and revered by their gentile neighbors. They were ready to initiate a global redemption instead of patiently awaiting its arrival. By telling the story of these heroic Jews, Montezinos fashioned his own narrative: he is no longer a petty converso merchant, trying to hide his Judaism, but rather a messenger of the messianic advent. Once in circulation, the *Relación* participated in the wider Jewish and Christian millenarian conversation about the nature of the “New World” and its role in a rapidly unfolding eschatology.

The interest in the *Relación* points to the ways that the collective dreams and nightmares of the Old World were projected onto the *terra incognita* of the New World. Although the Christian millenarians found further proof for their belief in the identity of the Indians with the lost tribes, arguably the Spanish and Portuguese Jews of Amsterdam saw the personal relevance of Montezinos’s account. They could trace the outlines of their own converso pasts—the fear, the hiding, and the persecution—and catch a glimpse of an alternative Jewish existence, where Jews could be free and strong, the agents of their own destinies. The *Relación* offered a Jewish audience the opportunity to recast their personal histories in light of the Reubenites’ epic tale of survival and messianic deliverance. The *Relación* invited the ex-conversos of Amsterdam to participate in its fantasy of Jewish power. But Montezinos’s *Relación* was most enthusiastically received by Christian millenarians, and by and large ignored by his fellow Jews, suggesting that, while this dream might have been seductive, its audacity was too much for most of the Sephardim of Amsterdam to consider seriously.

Epilogue

NATALIE ZEMON DAVIS

THESE ESSAYS HAVE DRAWN for us a remarkable world of fluid boundaries, not only in economic life, but in religious life and social intercourse as well. The trading diaspora of the Portuguese nation was made up of Jews, crypto-Jews, and New Christians, who collaborated, jostled each other, and even exchanged identities. Portuguese Jewish settlements in West Africa and Brazil brought intimate ties with non-Europeans. While many practices of this Atlantic diaspora replicated those of the European Jewish trading diaspora, others, especially those connected with settlement, took Jewish life in new and sometimes problematic directions.

The entrepreneurial style of this mixed population rested on the "ability to cross borders easily," in Adam Sutcliffe's phrase, on the existence of reliable networks, and on what Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert calls "diasporic sociability." At its heart, Francesca Trivellato reminds us, were the mechanisms for creating trust, essential to the early modern Atlantic trade, which operated over such wide distances, with such time lags and unpredictability, and with such diverse "items," including human beings, being exchanged. A shared Portuguese language, kin ties, religious understandings—either current or remembered—contributed to the creation of this trust, as in other diaspora groups, like the Huguenots. Perhaps a well-developed skill in secrecy, so necessary in the religious predicament in which those of the "Portuguese Nation" often found themselves, also strengthened the grounds for trust. On the other hand, Trivellato warns us against sentimentalizing the relations among these Atlantic Jews: quarrels broke out among kin (these squabbles are surely familiar to anyone who has read Jewish community records and rabbinical *responsa* of the time), and the informal agreements among diaspora traders were supplemented by formal contracts with outsiders.

The legal and social situation in which the Jewish traders operated varied across the Atlantic lands. In the English colonies, as in England itself, the Navigation Acts limited the conduct of trade to British subjects; resident Jews were aliens. Christians often viewed Jews with suspicion. Holly Snyder's close study of the practices of the Jewish merchants in colonial New York, the Hudson Valley, and Newport, Rhode Island, shows how these merchants got around these disadvantages and built up webs of customers. Rather than çounting only on Atlantic trade, they developed a trade in internal products, such as candles, including their manufacture. They also listened hard for consumers' tastes, catching the new love for "genteel" products and doing their best to provide them.

The Atlantic diaspora was not just composed of trade networks; it also involved the settlement of populations and the establishment of institutions. Thus, in the early seventeenth century, Portuguese Jews from Amsterdam—some of them former New Christians—set themselves up as traders in villages on Senegal's Petite Côte. Here Muslim rulers, eager for their trading skills and connections, evidently extended to them the *dhimmi* status granted the Jews as Peoples of the Book throughout Islamic lands, allowed to live and practice their religion there but required to pay a special tax, wear distinctive garments, and conduct themselves in a deferential manner. As Peter Mark and José da Silva Horta describe them in the Petite Côte, these Portuguese Jews may have been properly deferential toward their Muslim overlords, but they were not so toward interfering Portuguese Catholics and the Christian religion: they affirmed to the sultan the likeness between the circumcision given to Muslim and Jewish males and their shared rejection of Catholic idolatry.

Jewish settlements along the Atlantic sometimes extended, as in the Caribbean, beyond commerce and the occasional craft manufacture, to agriculture and plantation. Wim Klooster's study of the founders of Jewish communities in the Dutch colonies of the Caribbean shows this passage from trade to settled community and also reveals the eschatological or messianic edge to these initiatives. Jews could worship freely; they could own land and plantations; they could have their own Jewish communities without being enclosed in ghetto walls imposed by Christians. In the early days, Jodensavanne, or Jews' Savannah, at a bend in the Suriname River, was conceived as a New Jerusalem—one that, to be sure, had slaves among its inhabitants (with similar irony, in Suriname, Huguenot refugees who had left France because of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes founded plantations called La Liberté).

In the settlements of the Portuguese Nation in Dutch northeastern Brazil, religious identities and religious discussion loomed large. Bruno Feitler describes the enthusiasm with which Portuguese Jews established synagogues and prayer meetings in Recife and other small towns along Brazil's northeast coast after 1635, as well as the missionary zeal with which they tried to persuade the New Christians there to return to the true faith of their ancestors. Some New Christians became Jews once again and stayed so; others (among the men) had themselves circumcised, but eventually returned to Christianity, especially after 1654, when Brazil became a Portuguese Catholic kingdom once again. Some Jews called for clear and stable lines of demarcation around the Nation, but in vain: fluidity of boundaries is the story once again, with shifting identities and geographical movement.

These Brazilian religious debates and shifts were recounted in the chambers of the Portuguese Inquisition, and some of them were even described in Hebrew and Portuguese publications decades later. The New World conversion tale best known to seventeenth-century European readers, however, was that of Aaron Levi, alias Antonio de Montezinos, for it was included by Menassah Ben Israel in his much-translated messianic work, *The Hope of Israel*. Sensitively analyzed here by Ronnie Perelis, the narrative shows the Portuguese-born Marrano retaking his full Jewish identity through his meetings with Indians in the Andes, who reveal to him that they are "the children of Abraham, Isaac, Israel, and Reuben," believers in one God and in the eventual coming of a "Messenger." The spiritual journey of Levi/Montezinos ends with his portrayal of this lost tribe of Reubenites, who say they are his brothers and promise to bring redemption for both Indians and Jews. The eschatological hopes of the text are different from those of the Portuguese Jews who gathered in the New Jerusalem/Jews' Savannah of Suriname to pray, bury their dead, and talk of their plantations and slaves.

Aviva Ben-Ur's study of Suriname takes us deep into that world, here in connection with sexual intimacy across the borders of slave and free and with religion, as persons of mixed ancestry, slaves and manumitted, were converted to the Jewish religion. The long history of conversion to Judaism has been renewed in recent years: Shaye J. D. Cohen has examined the movement in the Greco-Roman period from becoming Jewish through simple association and circumcision to the creation, in the second century CE, of a rabbinical conversion ceremony; Jonathan Schorsch has described the conversion of some slaves on Jewish plantations in the English and Dutch colonies in his pathbreaking *Jews and Blacks in the Early Modern World.*[1] Ben-Ur's richly drawn portrait shows how concerned the Portuguese Jews were to bring slave children of mixed parentage into the Jewish fold. In contrast, many Christian proprietors displayed relative indifference, even hostility toward conversion of their slaves; while the Moravian Brethren surpassed all of them in their missionary zeal.

The boundary between the free Jews of color and the Jews of European ancestry was both porous and conflictual, here not on grounds of religious authenticity (as with the New Christians and Jews in northeastern Brazil) but on those of social status. Jews so recently out of slavery could be part of the congregation but could not enjoy the honorific liturgical roles allowed full members, whose own days as slaves, they liked to think, went back to ancient Egypt. For the Jewish women of color, this liturgical limitation was less significant—as women, they could not be called up to offer special prayers anyway—and as Ben-Ur shows, they became, by the early nineteenth century, central figures in the perpetuation of Jewish commitment within their families.

By then, so the masterful reviews of Jonathan Israel and Adam Sutcliffe report, the distinctive economic role of the Portuguese Jews and crypto-Jews had been taken over by others in the Atlantic, French and then English. Indeed, Sutcliffe suggests that it was not just successful competitors at work but that the very style of the diaspora entrepreneurs was becoming obsolete: "Informal ethnically based trading networks . . . were largely brought to an end by the advent of modernity." Studnicki-Gizbert and Trivellato take a different view, not in regard to the continued role of the Portuguese Nation in particular, but in regard to key features of the success of trading diasporas. Studnicki-Gizbert notes that "diasporic sociability"—"the relations of individuals around a common table"—contributed to the organization and movement of wealth along with the more generally recognized mechanisms and institutions of the market. Trivellato shows that legal contracts and informal agreements of trust were both used in early modern trading diasporas, that "market and communities coexisted, reinforced each other, and sometimes clashed"; she has her doubts about developmental stage theories that would erase this mixture. Clearly we have here an important area for continuing discussion.

This volume invites further inquiry in several directions. Asser Levy and possibly a few other Jewish merchants along the Hudson Valley and New England routes described by Holly Snyder were Ashkenazi; Bruno Feitler notes that Polish and German Jews were present in northeastern Brazil along with the Portuguese. An Ashkenazi community was established in Suriname in the eighteenth century, and there were German Jews in Jamaica and other Caribbean islands. The comparison of trading diasporas and New World settlement patterns could fruitfully be extended to them. The Suriname Jews of the German nation suggest interesting possibilities, with their archives in Yiddish rather than Portuguese, their marriages among themselves (as were those also of the Portuguese Jews), and the greater willingness of some of the Ashkenaz men to serve as factors and agents for Christian plantation owners.

As Snyder has followed the transactions of a few Jewish traders very closely, so others might examine in detail the economic organization and the administration of slaves on three or four plantations with Jewish owners in Jamaica or Suriname. Is there anything distinctive here, as there is in Ben-Ur's religious and gender portrait? or does the economic conduct of the Jewish plantation owners and their evaluation of slavery as an institution have the same range as that of Christian owners? Further, one can follow Trivellato's urging and explore contracts and other economic relations between Jewish and non-Jewish traders as an integral part of the success of the trading diaspora. What other kinds of contacts between Jews and non-Jews may have facilitated the creation of trust?

As it is, these essays integrate the Jewish trading diasporas and settlements into the broader picture of Atlantic exchange, settlement, and slavery of the early modern world. It reveals both the reproduction of European patterns and the creation of new ones in the religious and economic behavior of the Portuguese Jews and crypto-Jews. And it encourages us to think more generally about the importance of porous boundaries and border quarrels in enabling social life; of the interlinking of kinship, alliance, and quarrels; and of the mixture of the intimate and strange, informal and contractual, of Jew and non-Jew in an age of violence and exchange, hatred and trust.

NOTES

Preface

1. J. H. Elliott, "Afterword: Atlantic History: A Circumnavigation," in *The British Atlantic World, 1500–1800*, ed. David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick (Basingstoke, UK, 2002), 233–49, at 239.

2. For programmatic statements about, and recent examples of, Atlantic history, see special issue, "The Nature of Atlantic History," *Itinerario* 23, no. 2 (1999): 48–176; Horst Pietschmann, ed., *Atlantic History: History of the Atlantic System, 1580–1830* (Göttingen, 2002); Bernard Bailyn, *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours* (Cambridge, MA, 2005); Alison Games, "Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities," *American Historical Review* 111 (2006): 741–57; "Forum: Beyond the Atlantic," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 63 (2006): 675–742; Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra and Erik R. Seeman, eds., *The Atlantic in Global History, 1500–1800* (Upper Saddle River, NJ, 2007); and Jack P. Greene and Philip D. Morgan, eds., *Atlantic History: A Critical Appraisal* (New York, forthcoming).

3. Jonathan I. Israel, *Diasporas within a Diaspora: Jews, Crypto-Jews, and the World Maritime Empires (1540–1740)* (Leiden, 2002).

4. The term "Port Jew" originated in Lois C. Dubin, *The Port Jews of Habsburg Trieste: Absolutist Politics and Enlightenment Culture* (Stanford, CA, 1999), and David Sorkin, "The Port Jew: Notes towards a Social Type," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 50, no. 1 (1999): 87–97. Following their expulsion from Iberia, Sephardic Jews took up residence, as both Jews and conversos, in port cities scattered throughout the Mediterranean and Atlantic world.

5. Jonathan Schorsch, *Jews and Blacks in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge, 2004); for an example of a "Port Jew" who was also a plantation owner (Kingston, Jamaica merchant, Levy Hyman, who owned as many as twenty plantations), see Holly Snyder, "Rules, Rights, and Redemption: The Negotiation of Jewish Status in British Atlantic Port Towns, 1740–1831," *Jewish History* 20, no. 2 (2006): 147–70; Isaac S. Emmanuel and Suzanne A. Emmanuel, *History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles* (Cincinnati, 1970), 618.

6. David L. Graizbord, *Souls in Dispute: Converso Identities in Iberia and the Jewish Diaspora, 1580–1700* (Philadelphia, 2004).

7. Israel, *Diasporas*, 1.

8. Paolo Bernardini and Norman Fiering, eds., *The Jews and the Expansion of Europe to the West, 1450 to 1800* (New York, 2001); David Cesarani, ed., *Port Jews: Jewish Communities in Cosmopolitan Maritime Trading Centres, 1550–1950* (London, 2002); David Cesarani and Gemma Romain, eds., *Jews and Port Cities 1590–1990: Commerce, Community, and Cosmopolitanism* (London, 2006); and a special issue, edited by Lois Dubin, entitled, "Port Jews of the Atlantic," *Jewish History* 20, no. 2 (2006): 117–219.

9. We acknowledge that the term "identity" is elusive, but how it is used matters more than the term itself. For a strong critique, see Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, "Beyond 'identity,'" *Theory and Society* 29 (2000): 1–47.

10. For some of this literature, see Jon Butler, *The Huguenots in America: A Refugee People in New World Society* (Cambridge, MA, 1983); Alan Karras, *Sojourners in the Sun: Scottish Migrants in Jamaica and the Chesapeake, 1740–1780* (Ithaca, NY, 1992); A. G. Roeber, *Palatines, Liberty, and Property: German Lutherans in Colonial British America* (Baltimore, 1993); Harmut Lehman, Hermann Wellenreuther, and Renato Wilson, eds., *In Search of Peace and Prosperity: New German Settlements in Eighteenth-Century Europe and America* (University Park, PA, 2000); Randolph Vigne and Charles Littleton, eds., *From Strangers to Citizens: The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland, and Colonial America, 1550–1750* (Brighton, UK, 2001); Bertrand Van Ruymbeke and Randy Sparks, eds., *Memory and Identity: The Huguenots in France and the Atlantic Diaspora* (Columbia, SC, 2003); Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch, eds., *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden, 2005); and Douglas Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean, and the Atlantic World, 1750–1820* (Manchester, UK 2005). For a broad look at the Jewish experience in five North American port towns, see William Pencak, *Jews and Gentiles in Early America, 1654–1800* (Ann Arbor, MI, 2005).

11. Natalie Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-Century Muslim between Worlds* (New York, 2006).

12. For a similar observation, see Jonathan D. Sarna, "Port Jews in the Atlantic: Further Thoughts," *Jewish History* 20, no. 2 (2006): 213–19, esp. 214–15.

13. Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert, *A Nation upon the Ocean Sea: Portugal's Atlantic Diaspora and the Crisis of the Spanish Empire, 1492–1640* (New York, 2007).

14. The authors of the papers in the morning session were Wim Klooster,

Holly Snyder, and Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert; and the two commentators were Adam Sutcliffe and Francesca Trivellato. The authors of the papers in the afternoon session were Aviva Ben-Ur, Ronnie Perelis, and Jonathan Schorsch; and the commentator was Natalie Zemon Davis. Unfortunately, Jonathan Schorsch was unable to revise his paper for inclusion in this volume, but his participation in the conference was invaluable.

Chapter One: Jews and Crypto-Jews in the Atlantic World Systems, 1500–1800

1. Gabriel Sheffer, "A Profile of Ethno-national Diasporas," in *Diaspora Entrepreneurial Networks: Four Centuries of History,* ed. Ina Baghdiantz McCabe, Gelina Harlaftis, and Ioanna Pepelasis Minoglou, 359–70 (Oxford, 2005).

2. Nathan Wachtel, *La foi du souvenir: Labyrinthes marranes* (Paris, 2001), 321–32.

3. Philip D. Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History* (Cambridge, 1984), 198.

4. See Jonathan Israel, "Diasporas Jewish and Non-Jewish and the World Maritime Empires," in Baghdiantz McCabe, Harlaftis, and Pepelasis Minoglou, *Diaspora Enrepreneurial Networks*, 8–16; Jonathan I. Israel, *Diasporas within a Diaspora: Jews, Crypto-Jews, and the World Maritime Empires (1540–1740)* (Leiden, 2002), 43–76.

5. Pier Cesare Ioly Zorattini, "Un profilo del marranesimo all fine dei '500,'" in *Mémorial I.-S. Révah: Études sur le marranisme, l'hétérodoxie juive, et Spinoza,* ed. H. Méchoulan and G. Nahon (Paris, 2001), 531–32, 535–38; see also Israel, *Diasporas,* 41–65.

6. Gérard Nahon, *Juifs et Judaisme à Bordeaux* (Paris, 2003), 49–54, 62–83.

7. Edgar Samuel, *At the End of the Earth: Essays on the History of the Jews in England and Portugal* (London, 2004), 90.

8. Bernardo López Belinchón, *Honra, libertad y hacienda: Hombres de negocios y judíos sefardíes* (Alcalá de Henares,2001), 260–65.

9. Israel, *Diasporas*, 16–24, 29–30, 146–50.

10. José Alberto Tavim, *Os Judeus na expansão portuguesa em Marrocos durante o século XVI* (Braga, 1997).

11. Johan de Bakker, *Slaves, Arms, and Holy War: Moroccan Policy vis-à-vis the Dutch Republic during the Establishment of the 'Alawi Dynasty (1660–1727)* (Amsterdam, 1991), 11–18.

12. Israel, *Diasporas*, 291–311.

13. See the essay by Peter Mark and José da Silva Horta in this volume.

14. Israel, *Diasporas,* 125–50; Wachtel, *La foi du souvenir,* 18–19, 24–25;

see also Maurits A. Ebben, *Zilver, brood en kogels voor de koning: Kredietverlening door Portugese bankiers aan de Spaanse kroon, 1621–1665* (Leiden, 1996), 127–30.

15. Ricardo Escobar Quevedo, "Inquisition et judaisants en Amérique espagnole (1569–1649)" (Ph.D. diss., École des Hautes Études, Paris, 2005).

16. S. M. Hordes, *To the End of the Earth: A History of the Crypto-Jews of New Mexico* (New York, 2005), 138–44, 177–204.

17. See esp. Israel, *Diasporas,* 97–123.

18. See, e.g., Maria da Graça A. Mateus Ventura, "Los judeoconversos portugueses en el Peru del siglo XVII. Redes de complicidad," in *Familia, religión e negocio: El Sefardismo en las relaciones entre el mundo ibérico y los Países Bajos en la Edad Moderna,* ed. Jaime Contreras, B. J. García García, and Ignacio Pulido (Madrid, 2002), 397–99; see also Cayetana Alvarez de Toledo, *Politics and Reform in Spain and Viceregal Mexico* (Oxford, 2004), 124–32.

19. Samuel, *At the End of the Earth*, 92–94; Israel, *Diasporas,* 313–53.

20. Jonathan Israel, "The Jews of Dutch America," in *The Jews and the Expansion of Europe to the West, 1450 to 1800,* ed. Paolo Bernardini and Norman Fiering (New York, 2001), 338, 348.

21. See the essay by Aviva Ben-Ur in this volume.

22. On the continuing Dutch Sephardic contacts with Barbados, after 1651, see the essay by Wim Klooster in this volume.

23. P. C. Emmer, *De Nederlandse slavenhandel, 1500–1850* (Amsterdam, 2000), 58–59

24. Israel, *Diasporas,* 269–89.

25. Wim Klooster, "The Jews of Suriname and Curaçao," in Bernadini and Fiering, *Jews and the Expansion of Europe,* 358–59; Jonathan Israel, *Conflicts of Empires: Spain, the Low Countries, and the Struggle for World Supremacy, 1585–1713* (London, 1997), 406–8.

26. Carmen Sanz Ayán, "Financieros judeoconversos durante la Guerra de Sucesión en el ámbito peninsular," in Contreras et al., *Familia, religión y negocio,* 418–20.

27. Éveline Oliel-Grausz, "La diaspora séfarade au XVIIIe siècle: Communication, espaces, résaux," in *La Diaspora des "Nouveaux-Chrétiens,"* vol. 48 of *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Calouste Gulbenkian* (Lisbon, 2004), 68–71.

28. Gérard Nahon, *Métropoles et périphéries: Sefarades d'Occident* (Paris, 1993), 29.

29. Eva Uchmany, "The Participation of New Christians and Crypto-Jews in the Conquest, Colonization, and Trade of Spanish America, 1521–1660," in Bernadini and Fiering, *Jews and the Expansion of Europe,* 199.

30. Bruno Feitler, "Les apports externes au cryptojudaisme brésilien: Le cas des Nouveaux-Chrétiens du Nordeste," *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Calouste Gulbenkian* 48 (2004): 266–69.

Chapter Two: Jewish History in an Age of Atlanticism

1. David Armitage, "Three Concepts of Atlantic History," in *The British Atlantic World, 1500–1800,* ed. David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick, 11–27 (Basingstoke, UK, 2002), 11.

2. On the impact of the "Atlantic turn" on British history, see the essays gathered in "Forum: The New British History in Atlantic Perspective," *American Historical Review* 104, no. 2 (1999): 426–500; for an overview from a North American perspective, see Nicholas Canny, "Writing Atlantic History; or, Reconfiguring the History of Colonial North America," *Journal of American History* 86 (1999): 1093–114.

3. This "Germanocentric" paradigm is most influentially associated with Jacob Katz. See Jacob Katz, *Out of the Ghetto: The Social Background of Jewish Emancipation, 1770–1870* (Cambridge, MA, 1973); Katz, *Toward Modernity: The European Jewish Model* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1987).

4. The United States is routinely retroprojected, in Jewish history as more generally, to embrace the colonial era: see, e.g., Hasia R. Diner, *The Jews of the United States, 1654 to 2000* (Berkeley, 2004).

5. Jonathan Israel, *Diasporas within a Diaspora: Jews, Crypto-Jews, and the World Maritime Empires (1540–1740)* (Leiden, 2002), esp. 2–5.

6. For a thoughtful exploration of these issues, see David Graizbord, *Souls in Dispute: Converso Identities in Iberia and the Jewish Diaspora* (Philadelphia, 2004), 8–16.

7. Paolo Bernardini, "A Milder Colonization: Jewish Expansion to the New World, and the New World in the Jewish Consciousness of the Early Modern Era," in *The Jews and the Expansion of Europe to the West, 1450 to 1800,* ed. Paulo Bernardini and Norman Fiering, 1–21 (New York, 2001).

8. Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, MA, 1993), 19.

9. Ibid., 213–17.

10. For a critique of this from a black perspective, see Paul Gilroy, *Against Race: Imagining Political Culture beyond the Color Line* (Cambridge, MA, 2000).

11. Bernard Bailyn, *Atlantic History: Concepts and Contours* (Cambridge, MA, 2005), 12–30.

12. Ibid., 54.

13. Bernard Bailyn, "Preface" to Armitage and Braddick, *British Atlantic World,* xviii–xix.

14. See Antoinette Burton, ed., *After the Imperial Turn: Thinking with and through the Nation* (Durham, NC, 2003); for a good example of a "webbed" model for Imperial history, see Tony Ballantyne, *Aryanism and Race: Aryanism in the British Empire* (Basingstoke, UK, 2002).

15. Armitage, "Three Concepts," 21–25.

16. Eric Foner, *The Story of American Freedom* (New York, 1999), 12–25.

17. See Selma Stern, *The Court Jew* (Philadelphia, 1950); Vivian B. Mann and Richard I. Cohen, eds., *From Court Jews to the Rothschilds: Art, Patronage, and Power, 1600–1800* (Munich, 1996).

18. For the formulation of the "Port Jew" concept, see David Sorkin, "The Port Jew: Notes towards a Social Type," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 50, no. 1 (1999): 87–97; Lois C. Dubin, *The Port Jews of Habsburg Trieste: Absolutist Politics and Enlightenment Culture* (Stanford, CA, 1999). See also David Cesarani, ed., *Port Jews: Jewish Communities in Cosmopolitan Maritime Trading Centres, 1550–1950* (London, 2002) [*Jewish Culture and History* 4, no. 2 (2001)]; David Cesarani and Gemma Romain, eds., *Jews and Port Cities, 1590–1990: Commerce, Community, and Cosmopolitanism* (London, 2006) [*Jewish Culture and History* 7, nos. 1–2 (2004)].

19. See Jacob Price, "Economic Function and the Growth of American Port Towns in the Eighteenth Century," *Perspectives in American History* 8 (1974): 123–86; Franklin W. Knight and Peggy K. Liss, eds., *Atlantic Port Cities: Economy, Culture, and Society in the Atlantic World, 1560–1850* (Knoxville, TN, 1991).

20. Dubin, *Port Jews of Trieste,* 118–37.

21. Yosef Kaplan, *An Alternative Path to Modernity: The Sephardi Diaspora in Western Europe* (Leiden, 2000), 108–42, 280–300; Adam Sutcliffe, "Regulating Sociability: Rabbinic Authority and Jewish-Christian Interaction in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam," in *Rabbinic Culture and Its Critics: Jewish Authority, Dissent, and Heresy in Medieval and Early Modern Times,* ed. Daniel Frank and Matt Goldish, 289–312 (Detroit, 2007).

22. Francesca Trivellato, "The Port Jews of Livorno and Their Global Networks of Trade in the Early Modern Period," in Cesarani and Romain, *Jews and Port Cities,* 31–48.

23. On the deeper history and intellectual stakes of the division between "Arab" and "Jewish" cultural spheres, see Gil Anidjar, *"Our Place in al-Andalus": Kabbalah, Philosophy, Literature in Arab Jewish Letters* (Stanford, CA, 2002).

24. Peter Mathias, "Risk, Credit, and Kinship in Early Modern Enterprise,"

in *The Early Modern Atlantic Economy,* ed. John J. McCusker and Kenneth Morgan, 15–35 (Cambridge, 2000), 35.

25. Robert Cohen, *Jews in Another Environment: Surinam in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden, 1991), 180.

26. See Linda M. Rupert, "Trading Globally, Speaking Locally: Curaìao's Sephardim in the Making of a Caribbean Creole," in Cesarani and Romain, *Jews and Port Cities,* 109–22.

27. See Tudor Parfitt, "The Use of the Jew in Colonial Discourse," in *Orientalism and the Jews,* ed. Ivan Davidson Kalmar and Derek J. Penslar, 51–67 (Lebanon, NH, 2005).

28. Thomas Thorowgood, *Jewes in America; or, Probabilities That the Americans Are of That Race* (London, 1650). See also Richard H. Popkin, "The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Indian Theory," in *Menasseh ben Israel and His World,* ed. Yosef Kaplan, Henry Méchoulan, and Richard H. Popkin, 63–82 (Leiden, 1989).

29. Benjamin Schmidt, "The Hope of the Netherlands: Menasseh ben Israel and the Dutch Idea of America," in Bernardini and Fiering, *Jews and the Expansion of Europe,* 86–106.

30. See James Homer Williams, "An Atlantic Perspective on the Jewish Struggle for Rights and Opportunities in Brazil, New Netherland, and New York," in Bernardini and Fiering, *Jews and the Expansion of Europe,* 369–93.

31. Arthur Kiron, "Mythologizing 1654," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 94 (2004): 583–94.

32. Jonathan Schorsch, "American Jewish Historians, Colonial Jews and Blacks, and the limits of *Wissenschaft*: A Critical Review," *Jewish Social Studies* 6, no. 2 (2000): 102–32.

33. Arnold Wiznitzer, *Jews in Colonial Brazil* (New York, 1960), 72–73.

34. See Eli Faber, *Jews, Slaves, and the Slave Trade: Setting the Record Straight* (New York, 1998).

35. Jonathan Schorsch, *Jews and Blacks in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge, 2004), 296.

36. See Philip D. Morgan, "British Encounters with Africans and African-Americans, c. 1600–1780," in *Strangers within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire,* ed. Bernard Bailyn and Philip D. Morgan, 157–219 (Chapel Hill, NC, 1991).

37. Israel, *Diasporas,* 245–68; Israel, "The Jews of Dutch America," in Bernardini and Fiering, *Jews and the Expansion of Europe,* 335–49.

38. On Sephardi separatism, see Kaplan, *An Alternative Path,* 51–77; Miriam Bodian, *Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation: Conversos and Community in Early Modern Amsterdam* (Bloomington, IN, 1997), 76–95.

39. Graizbord, *Souls in Dispute,* 174.

40. See Yirmiyahu Yovel, *Spinoza and Other Heretics: The Marrano of Reason* (Princeton, NJ, 1989).

41. Evelyne Oliel-Grausz, "Networks and Communication in the Sephardi Diaspora: An Added Dimension to the Concept of Port Jews and Port Jewries," in Cesarani and Romain, *Jews and Port Cities*, 61–76.

42. Stephen Alexander Fortune, *Merchants and Jews: The Struggle for British West Indian Commerce, 1650–1750* (Gainesville, FL, 1994), 130–50.

43. Jacob M. Price, "Summation: The American Panorama of Atlantic Port Cities," in Knight and Liss, *Atlantic Port Cities*, 226–76, at 271.

44. Israel, *Diasporas*, 38–39, 567–84. On Sephardic assimilation in England, see Todd M. Endleman, *Radical Assimilation in English Jewish History, 1656–1945* (Bloomington, IN, 1990), 9–33.

45. Philip D. Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History* (Cambridge, 1984), 204–6, 230–54.

46. Jonathan Boyarin and Daniel Boyarin, *Powers of Diaspora* (Minneapolis, 2002), 33.

Chapter Three: Networks of Colonial Entrepreneurs

I would like to thank Aviva Ben-Ur, Adam Sutcliffe, and Francesca Trivellato for their helpful remarks.

1. "Aanteekeningen en brieven van den raadspensionaris Mr. L. P. van de Spiegel. Medegedeeld uit onuitgegeven papieren," *De Navorscher* 44 (1894): 9–10 (my translation). For van de Spiegel, see A. J. van der Meulen, *Studies over het ministerie van Van de Spiegel* (Leiden, 1905); G. J. Schutte, *De Nederlandse Patriotten en de koloniën: Een onderzoek naar hun denkbeelden en optreden, 1770–1800* (Groningen, 1974), 88–94; W. W. Mijnhardt, "Laurens Pieter van de Spiegel: Raadpensionaris van de Restauratie," in *Nederlanders van het eerste uur: Het ontstaan van het moderne Nederland, 1780–1830*, ed. H. M. Beliën, D. van der Horst, and G. J. van Setten, 51–65 (Amsterdam, 1996).

2. Cornelius De Pauw, *Recherches philosophiques sur les amériquains, ou Mémoires intéressants pour servir à l'histoire de l'espece humaine*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1770), 2: 130.

3. José Antônio Gonsalves de Mello, *Gente da Nação: Cristãos-novos e judeus em Pernambuco, 1542–1654* (Recife, 1989), 281–82.

4. Ibid., 230–31.

5. Gemeentearchief Amsterdam (hereafter GAA), Notarieel Archief (hereafter NA) 646B, p. 1313. Act of September 30, 1625. Listed in "Notarial Records Relating to the Portuguese Jews in Amsterdam up to 1639," *Studia Rosenthaliana*

31, nos. 1–2 (1997): 147. Egon Wolff and Frieda Wolff, *Dicionário Biográfico,* vol. 1, *Judaizantes e judeus no Brasil, 1500–1808* (Rio de Janeiro, 1986), 66.

6. Notarial act of November 24, 1621. "Notarial Records Relating to the Portuguese Jews in Amsterdam up to 1639," *Studia Rosenthaliana* 20, no. 1 (986): 115n69.

7. There was at least one Isaac Navarro in Brazil in these years. Isaac Nunes Navarro, born in Madrid in 1632, was the cousin of Jeronimo Nunes Navarro, as were Rachel and Jacob, born in Madrid in 1639 and 1640. They all married in Amsterdam. Egon Wolff and Frieda Wolff, *Quantos judeus estiveram no Brasil holandês e outros ensaios* (Rio de Janeiro, 1991), 65. Wolff and Wolff, *Dicionário Biográfico,* 1: 140; 3: 12. Dave Verdooner and Harmen Snel, *Trouwen in Mokum: Jewish Marriage in Amsterdam, 1598–1811,* 2 vols. (The Hague, n.d.), 1: 38, 41.

8. The birth years of Moisés and Jacob, both natives of Porto, were recorded at their weddings. Verdooner and Snel, *Trouwen in Mokum,* 1: 37, 38. Arão was said to be around forty in 1655: GAA, NA 1595, fols. 145–46, act of December 2, 1655. Jacob had started out in the 1630s as a merchant in Amsterdam: Gemeentearchief Rotterdam, Oud Notarieel Archief 141, 366/555, act of August 4, 1633.

9. Bruno Feitler, *Inquisition, juifs et nouveaux-chrétiens au Brésil: Le Nordeste XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Louvain, 2003), 152. Egon Wolff and Frieda Wolff, *A Odisséia dos Judeus de Recife* (São Paulo, 1979), 222.

10. De Mello, *Gente da Nação,* 225–26, 249n31. José Antônio Gonsalves de Mello, "Gente da Nação: Judeus residentes no Brasil holandês, 1630–54," *Revista do Instituto Arqueológico, Histórico, Histórico e Geográfico Pernambucano* 51 (1979): 11–233, at 161. The Santa Companhia de Dotar Órfãs e Donzelas Pobres was an organization based in Amsterdam whose purpose it was to marry orphans and poor Sephardi girls in the area between Dantzig and Saint-Jean-de-Luz in France.

11. Wolff and Wolff, *Dicionário Biográfico,* 1: 138–39.

12. Jacob was first listed in Brazil in 1645 and last in 1654: Wolff and Wolff, *Quantos judeus,* 66. Director of Zur Israel: Wolff and Wolff, *Odisséia,* 222.

13. Isaac S. Emmanuel, *Precious Stones of the Jews of Curaçao: Curaçaoan Jewry, 1656–1957* (New York, 1957), 171–72; Wolff and Wolff, *Dicionário Biográfico,* 1: 55–56; and de Mello, *Gente da Nação,* 222–23.

14. Pierre Moreau, *Histoire des derniers troubles du Brésil entre les Hollandois et les Portugais* (Paris, 1651), 97–98.

15. Diogo Lopes de Santiago, *História da guerra de Pernambuco e feitos memoráveis do mestre de campo João Fernandes Vieira, herói digno de eterna*

memória, primeiro aclamador da guerra, intro. José Antônio Gonsalves de Mello (Recife, 1984), 226–27; Wolff and Wolff, *Dicionário Biográfico,* 1: 38, 97–98; de Mello, "Judeus residentes," 159. Frans Leonard Schalkwijk, *Igreja e estado no Brasil holandês, 1630–1654* (Recife, 1986), 383; Jonathan I. Israel, "Dutch Sephardic Jewry, Millenarian Politics, and the Struggle for Brazil, 1650–54," in Israel, *Conflicts of Empires: Spain, the Low Countries, and the Struggle for World Supremacy, 1585–1713* (London, 1997), 161–62.

16. Jonathan I. Israel, "Spain and the Dutch Sephardim, 1609–1660," in Israel, *Empires and Entrepôts: The Dutch, the Spanish Monarchy, and the Jews, 1585–1713* (London, 1990), 385.

17. GAA 334: 240, "Livro Grande 1639–1728," 25, 29, 36, 38b, 42b, 43, 51.

18. The ports of Dutch Brazil produced more Jewish brides and grooms (18, or 7.7%) in that decade than Lisbon and Oporto combined (16) or Bayonne and Bordeaux combined (12). As a region, Brazil came behind Spain (40), Portugal (33), Northern Germany (30), France (24), and Italy (22), but ahead of interior Germany (15), Poland (10), the Southern Netherlands (8), and the Northern Netherlands outside of Amsterdam (7) (calculated on the basis of the known birth places as listed in Verdooner and Snel, *Trouwen in Mokum,* 1: 46–50).

19. Return in 1648: GAA, NA 2197, fol. 482, act of October 29, 1654, testimony of his wife, Sara Nunes. Travel to Brazil in 1652: Wolff and Wolff, *Quantos judeus,* 66. Business venture in France and Morocco: testimony of Sara Nunes; Herbert I. Bloom, *The Economic Activities of the Jews of Amsterdam in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Williamsport, PA, 1937), 78–79n26. He was apparently still alive in 1663: Wolff and Wolff, *Odisséia,* 226.

20. Marriage: Verdooner and Snel, *Trouwen in Mokum,* 1: 38. Wax shipment: Bloom, *Economic Activities,* 78–79n26. He died in 1690: Wolff and Wolff, *Dicionário Biográfico,* 1: 139–40.

21. Isaac S. Emmanuel and Suzanne A. Emmanuel, *History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles* (Cincinnati, 1970), 47.

22. Wilfred S. Samuel, *A Review of the Jewish Colonists in Barbados in the Year 1680* (London, 1936), 40–41, 72–74; Wolff and Wolff, *Dicionário Biográfico,* 1: 138–39.

23. Jonathan I. Israel, "Menasseh ben Israel and the Dutch Sephardic Colonization Movement of the Mid-Seventeenth Century (1645–1657)," in *Menasseh ben Israel and His World,* ed. Yosef Kaplan, Henri Méchoulan, and Richard Popkin (Leiden, 1989), 146–47; Daniel M. Swetschinski, *Reluctant Cosmopolitans: The Portuguese Jews of Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam* (London, 2000), 120.

24. Wolff and Wolff, *Odisséia,* 146, 148.

25. Wolff and Wolff, *Dicionário Biográfico,* 1: 61, 113. Arnold Wiznitzer, *The Records of the Earliest Jewish Community in the New World* (New York, 1954), 42. Jacob Franco Mendes was another veteran of Brazil: Wolff and Wolff, *Dicionário Biográfico,* 1: 117–18.

26. Stadsarchief Antwerpen (hereafter SAA), N 2478 (1655), p. 670. Wolff and Wolff, *Odisséia,* 177, 179; de Mello, *Gente da Nação,* 356, 469–70. See for a listing of his marriage: Verdooner and Snel, *Trouwen in Mokum,* 1: 38, where Frances is referred to as "Joseph Franco." Jacob Bueno's will shows that it was indeed Joseph Frances who had married Sara Bueno: GAA, NA 2000, fol. 587, act of June 7, 1656. There is no proof for the Emmanuels' assertion that Frances was Yllán's uncle. Given Yllán's seniority, that is at the very least unlikely. Emmanuel and Emmanuel, *Jews of the Netherlands Antilles,* 749.

27. Archivo General de Simancas, Estado 8385. Esteban de Gamarra to King Philip IV. The Hague, May 4, 1658; Enrique Otero Lana, *Los corsarios españoles durante la decadencia de los Austrias: El corso español del Atlántico peninsular en el siglo XVII (1621–1697)* (Madrid, 1992), 439; Herbert Friedenwald, ed., "Material for the History of the Jews in the British West Indies," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 5 (1897): 60; Carl Bridenbaugh and Roberta Bridenbaugh, *No Peace Beyond the Line: The English in the Caribbean, 1624–1690* (New York, 1972), 326–27.

28. Other "veterans" of Dutch Brazil were Mosseh de Azevedo, Davi Mendes, Moseh Cohen Henriques, and Abraham Valverde. For biographical data, see Luis Dias: Egon Wolff and Frieda Wolff, *Dicionário Biográfico,* vol. 3, *Testamentos e inventários* (Rio de Janeiro, 1986), 9, 11, 14–15, 18, 20–21; Claudia Schnurmann, *Atlantische Welten: Engländer und Niederländer im amerikanisch-atlantischen Raum, 1648–1713* (Cologne, 1998), 236–41, 247, 249–50; Mosseh de Azevedo: Wolff and Wolff, *Dicionário Biográfico,* 1: 18; Arão Burgos: ibid., 1: 30. Salamão Cardozo: ibid., 1: 34; Moseh Hamis Gago: Wolff and Wolff, *Odisséia,* 232–33; Wolff and Wolff, *Dicionário Biográfico,* 1: 82–83; Davi Mendes: ibid., 1: 116; David Israel: Leo Hershkowitz, "New Amsterdam's Twenty-three Jews: Myth or Reality?" in *Hebrew and the Bible in America: The First Two Centuries,* ed. Shalom Goldman, 171–83 (Hanover, NH, 1993), 172; Samuel, *Jewish Colonists in Barbados,* 21, 75–76; Wolff and Wolff, *Dicionário Biográfico,* 1: 97; Aaron da Silva: Wolff and Wolff, *Odisséia,* 104; Abraham de Mercado: *Monumental Inscriptions in the Jewish Synagogue at Bridgetown, Barbados: With Historical Notes from 1630,* ed. E. M. Shilstone (London, 1988), xxiv; Wolff and Wolff, "Mistaken Identities of Signatories of the Congregation Zur Israel, Recife," *Studia Rosenthaliana* 12, nos. 1–2 (1978): 101–2; Wolff and Wolff, *Dicionário Biográfico,* 1: 120–21; Moses Pereira de Leon: Samuel, *Jewish Colonists*

in Barbados, 27; Moseh Cohen Henriques: Wolff and Wolff, *Dicionário Biográfico,* 1: 94; Abraham Bueno de Mesquita: ibid., 1: 122–23; Abraham Valverde: ibid., 1: 200.

29. Vincent T. Harlow, *A History of Barbados, 1625–1685* (Oxford, 1926), 263. Barbados's first rabbi was Eliau Lopes (1648–1713), born in Málaga. Emmanuel, *Precious Stones,* 217–19. Initially, Amsterdam's Jews had maintained similar relations with the Jews of Martinique. Jacob Abendana, who had lived in Dutch Brazil, was an important go-between: GAA, NA 2005, fol.. 658, act of October 31, 1658. GAA, NA 2992, fols. 37–38, act of January 18, 1661.

30. Nationaal Archief, Netherlands (hereafter NAN), The Hague, Staten-Generaal 12582.8: testimony of Joost Weisberger, submitted to captain Otto Keije, The Hague, March 10, 1655. NAN, Staten-Generaal 12564.40: secret plan to capture a port in Brazil, submitted to the Estates General, August 1655.

31. A. van der Goes to M. van der Goes in Vienna. The Hague, June 14, 1661. In *Briefwisseling tusschen de gebroeders Van der Goes (1659–1673),* ed. C. J. Gonnet, 121–23 (Amsterdam, 1899).

32. Maria Thetis Nunes, *Sergipe Colonial I* (Rio de Janeiro, 1989), 85.

33. G. W. van der Meiden, *Betwist bestuur: Een eeuw strijd om de macht in Suriname, 1651–1753* (Amsterdam, 1987), 31, 73. Bridenbaugh and Bridenbaugh, *No Peace Beyond the Line,* 198, 200, 218, 290–91, 291n. Similarly, a Spanish official at Santo Thomé in the nearby Spanish province of Guayana wrote to his king in 1662 that the Dutch had founded "a new Brazil" at Pomeroon: George Lincoln Burr, "The Guiana Boundary: A Postscript to the Work of the American Commission," *American Historical Review* 6, no.1 (1900): 57–58.

34. See for a reference to "our men, who are inclined to warm lands": NAN, Staten-Generaal 5769, discours of Q. Spranger, 1675.

35. S. Hart, "De stadskolonie Nieuwer-Amstel aan de Delaware River in Noord-Amerika," *Amstelodamum* 38 (1951): 89–94.

36. Cornelis Ch. Goslinga, *The Dutch in the Caribbean and on the Wild Coast, 1580–1680* (Assen, 1971), 440–41. An earlier Dutch colony had been wiped out by an alliance of Spanish and Carib soldiers in 1637. The later colony ceased to be in 1678.

37. Jacob Alrichs, the first director of Nieuwer-Amstel (1657–59), had been the chief tax collector in Brazil: NAN, Staten-Generaal 12564.50. Statement by Jacob Alrichs, The Hague, July 5, 1655. Quirijn Spranger, director of Dutch Cayenne (1663–1664), had served the WIC in Brazil in various capacities, including commissary of soldiers' clothing: NAN, Staten-Generaal 5769, document signed by WIC directors David van Baerle and Jacobus Reijnst, March 1, 1666. Spranger was the author of a poem that compared Brazil to Canaan and the Garden of Eden, a place of four annual wine harvests, where the wind only blows for

man's comfort. The poem was published in O.K. [Otto Keye], *Het Waere Onderscheydt tusschen Koude en Warme Landen* (The Hague, 1659). Finally, Johannes Heinsius, secretary of the Council of Justice in Brazil, was governor of Suriname from 1678 until his death in 1680: Van der Meiden, *Betwist bestuur,* 28–29.

38. De Mello, *Gente da Nação,* 465.

39. GAA, NA 1501, act of July 22, 1641. Yllán commissioned Luiz Correa in Lisbon and eight men in Rio and Angola: captain Luiz Gonsalvez Bravo, captain Joao do Conto, Antonio de Tovar Lopez, Antonio Mendez Furtado, Antonio de Barrios Lopez Soarez, Duarte Ramirez de Liao, Jheronimo de Casseres, and Antonio Correa Bravo. I have maintained the spelling used in the document.

40. Wolff and Wolff, *Quantos judeus,* 49. Joseph Abraham Levi, "Do êxodo ão êxito: crónicas do sucesso sefardita no Novo Mundo (1492–1820)," http://triplov.org/cictsul/exodus_notas.html.

41. Emmanuel and Emmanuel, *Jews of the Netherlands Antilles,* 39.

42. Wedding: Verdooner and Snel, *Trouwen in Mokum,* 1: 34. Their child was mentioned in the will of Jacob Bueno: GAA, NA 2000, fol. 587, act of June 7, 1656. Rachel died 25 Adar 5415 or March 4, 1655: GAA, microfiches of the Oudekerk cemetery, O.A, 14/31.

43. João da Rocha Pinto married Isabel de Fretes Garcia in Madrid in 1630. She was called the daughter of Pablo Gomes, which was Jacob Bueno's alias. Bueno did not list Isabel as one of his daughters when he drew up his will in 1656. Joseph's second wife was Ribca Jael Cohen da Rocha, alias Izabella Cohen da Rocha, daughter of Semuel Bueno, probably a relative of his first wife. Hermann Kellenbenz, *Sephardim an der unteren Elbe: Ihre wirtschaftliche und politische Bedeutung vom Ende des 16. bis zum Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden, 1958), 171–72, Hans Pohl, *Die Portugiesen in Antwerpen (1567–1648): Zur Geschichte einer Minderheit* (Wiesbaden, 1977), 101; Michael Studemund-Halévy, *Biographisches Lexikon der Hamburger Sefarden: Die Grabinschriften des Portugiesenfriedhofs an der Königstrasse in Hamburg-Altona* (Hamburg, 2000), 338, 762.

44. In 1646, for example, Yllán arranged for his Hamburg correspondent to invest for one-quarter in the cargo of *De Vergulde Leeuw,* a merchantman that was to sail from Marseille to Hamburg. GAA, NA 1592, fol. 54 (first pagination), act of June 26, 1646.

45. SAA, N 2445, 191: act in which João de Yllán and the heirs of García de Yllán settle the debts run up in their mutual business affairs. García remembered his cousin in his will: SAA, N 2444 (1655), 137–42. I am grateful to Maurits Ebben for providing me with this information.

46. Maurits A. Ebben, *Zilver, brood en kogels voor de koning: Kredietverlening door Portugese bankiers aan de Spaanse kroon, 1621–1665* (Leiden, 1996),

151–52. Jonathan I. Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism, 1550–1750* (London, 1998), 101–2. García de Yllán was held in such high regard that Sweden's Queen Christina lodged with him during a stay in Antwerp: David S. Katz, "Menasseh ben Israel's Mission to Queen Christina of Sweden, 1651–1655," *Jewish Social Studies* 45, no. 1 (1983): 68.

47. Kellenbenz, *Sephardim an der unteren Elbe,* 169. SAA, N 2445 (1656), 48.

48. Gershom Scholem, *Sabbatai Sevi: The Mystical Messiah, 1626–1676* (Princeton, NJ, 1973), 531–32; Michael McKeon, "Sabbatai Sevi in England," *AJS Review* 2 (1977): 131–69, at 152n66. The original petition is in French.

49. WIC directors to director general Petrus Stuyvesant and council of New Netherland. Amsterdam, July 6, 1653. In Charles T. Gehring, trans. and ed., *Correspondence, 1647–1653* (New Netherland Documents Series, vol. 11) (Syracuse, NY, 2000), 213–14.

50. GAA, NA 3002, fol. 77, act of April 22, 1661. His partner from Caracas was Bernardino del Hoyo. For Yllán's bankruptcy in 1660, see Bloom, *Economic Activities,* 146.

51. Zvi Loker, "Juan de Yllán, Merchant Adventurer and Colonial Promoter, New Evidence," *Studia Rosenthaliana* 17, no. 1 (1983): 22–31.

52. GAA, NA 2204, fol. 773, act of June 1, 1658; GAA, NA 2005, fol. 481, act of September 25, 1658; Emmanuel and Emmanuel, *Jews of the Netherlands Antilles,* 747, 749.

53. Ebben, *Zilver, brood en kogels,* 151. Nikolaus Böttcher, *Aufstieg und Fall eines atlantischen Handelsimperiums: Portugiesische Kaufleute und Sklavenhändler in Cartagena de Indias von 1580 bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main, 1995), 158–59.

54. Sara's birth date: GAA, DTB 683, 45. Nassi's stay in Brazil: Wolff and Wolff, *Quantos judeus,* 65.

55. GAA, NA 1593, fols. 51–52 (second pagination), act of March 22, 1650.

56. WIC directors to Petrus Stuyvesant. Amsterdam, April 4, 1652. In Gehring, *Correspondence, 1647–1653,* 154.

57. M. G. de Boer, "Een memorie over den toestand der West Indische Compagnie in het jaar 1633," *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap* 21 (1900): 356.

58. Peter Boomgaard, "The Tropical Rain Forests of Suriname: Exploitation and Management, 1600–1975," *New West Indian Guide* 66, nos. 3–4 (1992): 210.

59. NAN, Verspreide Westindische Stukken 1177. Willem Constant to the WIC Chamber of Zeeland, October 1640. Cf *English and Irish Settlement on the River Amazon, 1550–1646,* ed. Joyce Lorimer (London, 1989), 57–58.

60. Guglielmo Piso, *De Indiae Utriusque Re Naturali et Medica* (Amsterdam, 1658), 169.

61. *Eugenia caryophyllata* was used against many ailments, such as flatulence, infertility, and lack of appetite.

62. NAN, West-Indische Compagnie 33, fols. 3–4 (November 15, 1657). I thank Victor Enthoven for providing me with his notes on this file. See also *Colonising Expeditions to the West Indies and Guiana 1623–1667*, ed. V. T. Harlow (London, 1925): 141–42. Samuel Oppenheim, "An Early Jewish Colony in Western Guiana, 1658–1666," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 16 (1908): 115. W. R. Menkman, "Tobago," *West Indische Gids* 21 (1939): 308. The colonies of Pomeroon and Essequibo were often confused in contemporary correspondence.

63. Lucien Wolf, trans. and ed., *Jews in the Canary Islands: Being a Calendar of Jewish Cases Extracted from the Records of the Canariote Inquisition in the Collection of the Marquess of Bute* (1926; Toronto, 2001), 190–91.

64. Oppenheim, "Early Jewish Colony," 134n74. The man's fate is unknown.

65. Renzo Toaff, *La Nazione ebrea a Livorno e a Pisa (1591–1700)* (Florence, 1990), 327.

66. A report of March 1658 by the local English agent estimated that twenty-five Jewish families from Livorno were setting out for Essequibo. John Birch, ed., *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe*, 7 vols. (London, 1742), 6: 825. In July 1660, a ship with 152 Jews sailed from Livorno to the Caribbean, settling at Tobago. Jac. Zwarts, "Een episode uit de joodsche kolonisatie van Guyana (1660)," *De West-Indische Gids* 9 (1927–28): 519–20. Paulo Jacomo Pinto, alias Jacob Jessurun Pinto, emerged as the main intermediary for Jews from Livorno and Saleh who wanted to move to Essequibo. Pinto had lived in Dutch Brazil before he settled in Middelburg, where his house served as the synagogue of the local Sephardi congregation. See also Oppenheim, "Early Jewish Colony," 164–65; J. Meijer, *Pioneers of Pauroma: Contribution to the Earliest History of the Jewish Colonization of America* (Paramaribo, Suriname, 1954), 16; Wolff and Wolff, *Dicionário Biográfico,* 1: 160; A. Vos, "De Synagoge van Middelburg. Een kleine joodse enclave," in *De Sjoel van Zeeland: Een bundel studies, uitgegeven ter gelegenheid van de herinwijding van de Middelburgse Synagoge,* ed. P. W. Sijnke, 14–24 (Middelburg, Netherlands, 1994), 16.

67. NAN, Staten-Generaal 12564.42. Attachment to the Minutes of the West India Company meeting, September 12, 1659. NAN, Staten-Generaal 5767. J. Rijckaert and David van Baerle, WIC Chamber of Amsterdam, to the Estates General. Amsterdam, February 21, 1664. Jan Jacob Hartsinck, *Beschryving van Guiana, of de wildekust, in Zuid-America,* 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1770), 2: 940.

68. Zwarts, "Episode uit de joodsche kolonisatie," 522–24, 526. Bloom, *Eco-*

nomic Activities, 153. As they disembarked at Cayenne in January 1660, these settlers did not know that another group of (non-Jewish) migrants had arrived shortly before, representing the Nieuwe Geoctroyeerde Guajaanse Compagnie. Having failed to launch a colony elsewhere in Guiana at the Aprowaco River, they tried their luck at Cayenne but were torn apart by an ugly feud between the designated commander of their colony and his councilors. Langendijck was caught in the middle: *Hollandse Mercurius* 10 (May 1660); M. G. de Boer, "Een Nederlandsche goudzoeker," *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 18 (1903): 1–18. A Frenchman in the Dutch service visiting Cayenne in 1660–61 observed that all Jewish families were planters: Stewart L. Mims, *Colbert's West India Policy* (New Haven, CT, 1912), 65.

69. Samuel Oppenheim, "An Early Jewish Colony in Western Guiana: Supplemental Data," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 17 (1909): 53–70; Israel, "Menasseh ben Israel," 148–49. Other Jews traveled to Suriname from England in 1662: Frederik Oudschants Dentz, *De kolonisatie van de Portugeesch Joodsche natie in Suriname en de geschiedenis van de Joden Savanne* (Amsterdam, 1927), 51.

70. GAA, NA 1542, fols. 65, 67, testimony of David Nassy, May 10, 1663. The Dutch had started hunting manatees on the Guiana coast in the 1640s: Victor Enthoven, "Nova Zeelandia and Cayenne: The Dutch on the Wild Coast, 1656–1666," in *D'un Rivage à l'Autre: Villes et Protestantisme dans l'Aire Atlantique (XVIe-XVIIe siècles): Actes du Colloque organisé à La Rochelle (13 et 14 novembre 1998),* ed. Guy Martinière, Didier Poton, and François Souty (Paris, 1999), 211.

71. Bloom, *Economic Activities,* 152. GAA, NA 2889, act of June 26, 1660. It is not clear why the slave woman was freed. Wolff and Wolff, *Odisséia,* 28. An Isaac Drago, likely the same, later lived in Curaçao: Emmanuel and Emmanuel, *Jews of the Netherlands Antilles,* 44n41. The Nassis and Dragos remained in Suriname. When Samuel Cohen Nassi mustered the Jewish militiamen in Jodensavanne in 1690, three other Cohen Nassis and three Dragos presented themselves. NAN Oud Archief Hof van Politie in Suriname, Invent. 2/3 BLS, fol. 19. P. Muenincx and Adriaen de Graeff to the Society of Suriname, Paramaribo, June 8, 1690.

72. GAA, NA 2903, act of June 30, 1671. GAA, NA 2904, act of July 10, 1671. Cf. Schnurmann, *Atlantische Welten,* 232–52. Samuel Nassi later built a hospital for Jews at his own expense: Cornelis Ch. Goslinga, *The Dutch in the Caribbean and in the Guianas, 1680–1791* (Assen, 1985), 277.

73. Letter sent from Nieuw Middelburgh, Pomeroon, November 29, 1660. Quoted in Oppenheim, "Early Jewish Colony," 130–31.

74. Emmanuel and Emmanuel, *Jews of the Netherlands Antilles,* 43n37.

David may have contracted a second marriage. When Ester Fastio remarried in 1688, she was listed as the widow of David Cohen Nassi: Verdooner and Snel, *Trouwen in Mokum,* 1: 56.

75. Wolff and Wolff, *Quantos judeus,* 36. Wolff and Wolff, *Odisséia,* 30–31.

76. Born in Rouen in 1617, Serrano had settled in Brazil by at least 1641, when he was the incumbent contractor of the tithes. An investigation by the Portuguese Inquisition in 1648 yielded the information that Serrano had been among a group of Jews celebrating the Sabbath on a sugar plantation in rural Brazil. The rebellion of 1645 forced him to leave Cabo de Santo Agostinho, and he may then have returned to Amsterdam, where he married in 1652. He traded with Spain before migrating to Curaçao in 1659. Either he or a namesake became an English citizen in 1664. Life in Brazil: Wolff and Wolff, *Dicionário Biográfico,* 1: 179–80; Wolff and Wolff, *Quantos judeus,* 83; de Mello, "Judeus residentes," 168; GAA, NA 2197, fol. 140, act of August 3, 1654; marriage in Amsterdam: Verdooner and Snel, *Trouwen in Mokum,* 1:37; trade with Spain: GAA, NA 2197, fols. 94–95, act of July 22, 1654; Daniel Swetschinski, "The Spanish Consul and the Jews of Amsterdam," in *Texts and Responses: Studies Presented to Nahum N. Glatzer,* ed. M. A. Fishbane and P. R. Flohr (Leiden, 1975), 172; migration to Curaçao: GAA, NA 2989, fols. 185–86, act of June 17, 1659; English citizenship: de Mello, *Gente da Nação,* 446.

77. Bloom, *Economic Activities,* 62.

78. In 1659, Drago fitted out the ship *de Romeyn,* which was described as going first to Cadiz and from there to the Spanish West Indies and back to Cadiz. The next year, he invested in the *Anthonio,* which was to sail from Texel to the Canary Islands, Curaçao, Coro (Venezuela), Santo Domingo, and back to Holland. Bloom, *Economic Activities,* 95–96n76, 147.

79. GAA, NA 1593, fols. 7–9, 14 (fourth pagination), acts of May 3 and May 12, 1651. Although Pinto's native country and the abnormally long term suggest that Pinto was a slave, the document does not reveal this.

80. Bloom, *Economic Activities,* 153–54; Zwarts, "Episode uit de joodsche kolonisatie," 526–38.

81. Aviva Ben-Ur and Rachel Frankel, *Remnant Stones: The Jewish Cemeteries and Synagogues of Suriname* (Cincinatti, forthcoming).

82. Wolff and Wolff, *Dicionário Biográfico,* 1: 78; Oppenheim, "Early Jewish Colony," 168–69, 175.

83. GAA, NA 2299, fol. 634, act of September 26, 1662. In 1662, Cohen sold half of his plantations in Essequibo to Pieter Moortamer.

84. GAA, NA 3098, fol. 131, act of May 5, 1660. Abraham Cohen features prominently in A. Hulshof, "Een Duitsch econoom in en over ons land omstreeks

1670," *Onze Eeuw: Maandschrift voor staatkunde, letteren, wetenschap en kunst* 10, no. 4 (1910): 65–96. Cohen died in Amsterdam in 1671: Emmanuel, *Precious Stones*, 215.

85. Family: "Una lista de judaizantes portugueses con conexiones con Francia, hecha en el tiempo de Felipe IV," in Julio Caro Baroja, *Los judíos en la España moderna y contemporánea,* 3 vols. (Madrid, 1961), 3: 337, 341. Birth date and marriage to Isabel Henriquez Cardozo: Verdooner and Snel, *Trouwen in Mokum,* 1: 35. His trade with Spain: Swetschinski, "Spanish Consul," 172; Jonathan I. Israel, "Some Further Data on the Amsterdam Sephardim and Their Trade with Spain during the 1650s," *Studia Rosenthaliana* 14 (1980): 18.

86. Historical Society of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia), Bontemantel Papers, 1 DUT CO7, fol. 508. Minutes of WIC meeting, September 15, 1660. In the 1630s, a tiny French colony had existed on this river: Goslinga, *Dutch in the Caribbean and on the Wild Coast,* 417.

87. Emmanuel and Emmanuel, *Jews of the Netherlands Antilles,* 41, 47n64.

88. Cf. Jack P. Greene, "Transatlantic Colonization and the Redefinition of Empire in the Early Modern Era. The British-American Experience," in *Negotiated Empires: Centers and Peripheries in the Americas, 1500–1820,* ed. Christine Daniels and Michael V. Kennedy (New York, 2002), 270; Rosalind J. Beiler, "Searching for Prosperity: German Migration to the British American Colonies, 1680–1780," in *The Atlantic World: Essays on Slavery, Migration, and Imagination,* ed. Wim Klooster and Alfred Padula (Upper Saddle River, NJ, 2005), 105.

Chapter Four: English Markets, Jewish Merchants, and Atlantic Endeavors

1. Lucien Wolf, "Crypto-Jews under the Commonwealth," *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* 1 (1893–94): 60–66, 77–88; David S. Katz, *The Jews in the History of England, 1485–1850* (Oxford, 1996), 134–37; Maurice Woolf, "Foreign Trade of London Jews in the Seventeenth Century," *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* 24 (1970–73): 43.

2. Haim S. Beinart, "The Jews in the Canary Islands: A Re-evaluation," *Jewish Historical Studies: Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* 25 (1973–75): 48–69; Katz, *The Jews in the History of England,* 134–37.

3. Katz, *The Jews in the History of England,* 43–44, 47–53; Charles Meyers, "Dr. Hector Nunez: Elizabethan Merchant," *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* 28 (1981–82): 129–31; Woolf, "Foreign Trade of London Jews," 38–40; Edgar Samuel, "London's Portuguese Jewish Community, 1540–1753," in *From Strangers to Citizens: The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland, and Colonial America, 1550–1750,* ed. Randolph Vigne and Charles Littleton (London, 2001), 239–240. Among the conversos living in

London who, according to entries in London's Port Books and related law cases, conducted trade during the reigns of Elizabeth I and her father, were Elizabeth Rodrigues and her son Gonzalvo (alias Dunstan) Añes, Hector Nunez, Alvaro de Lima, Fernando Alvarez, Fernando de Mercado, Gabriel Fernandez, Jeronimo Lopes, and Gomez D'Avila.

4. Lucien Wolf, "The First English Jew: Notes on Antonio Fernandes Carvajal with Some Biographical Documents," *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* 2 (1894–95), 15–18, 26–28. Carvajal's wealth is attested by the fact that he paid among the highest tithe rates for the parish of St. Katherine Creechurch during the 1650s. He also bequeathed £10 to the poor of this parish, in addition to a like amount to poor Jews. See Wilfred S. Samuel, *The First London Synagogue of the Resettlement* (London, 1924), 20, 25 n61.

5. [John Bland], *Trade Revived; or, a Way Proposed To Restore, Increase, Inrich, Strengthen and Preserve the Decayed and even Dying Trade of this our English Nation, in its Manufactories, Coin, Shiping and Revenue . . . Set forth by a Wel-wisher to the Nation and its Prosperity* (London, 1660), 21.

6. Wolf, "The First English Jew," 18, 36–37; Woolf, "Foreign Trade of London Jews," 45.

7. Wolf, "The First English Jew," 23, 37–44; Woolf, "Foreign Trade of London Jews," 41, 45.

8. On this point, see Wilfred S. Samuel, "A List of Jewish Persons Endenizened and Naturalised, 1609–1799," *Miscellanies of the Jewish Historical Society of England,* pt. 7 (1970), 111–17. J. M. Ross, "Naturalisation of Jews in England," *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* 24 (1970–73): 70–71, shows 190 Jews naturalized between 1651 and 1700.

9 Herbert Friedenwald, "Material for the History of the Jews in the British West Indies," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 5 (1897): 76–87. For a detailed discussion of the Rabba Couty case, see Holly Snyder, "Rules, Rights, and Redemption: The Negotiation of Jewish Status in British Atlantic Port Towns, 1740–1831," *Jewish History* 20, no. 2 (2006): 152–53.

10. Samuel Hayne, *An Abstract of All the Statutes Made Concerning Aliens Trading in England . . . Proving that the Jews . . . Break Them All* (London, 1685), and the discussion of Hayne's case in Katz, *The Jews in the History of England,* 145–89.

11. Hayne, *An Abstract of All the Statutes,* 23; Samuel, "A List of Jewish Persons Endenizened," 116; Woolf, "Foreign Trade of London Jews," 51.

12. John Russell Bartlett, *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island, and Providence Plantations, in New England* (Providence, 1856–65), vol. 3, *1678–1706,* 160; *Dyre v. Campanell et al.*, General Court of Trial, March Term 1685, Newport Record Book A, fol. 73, Collection of the Rhode Island Supreme Court Ju-

dicial Records Center. For discussion of this case, see Holly Snyder, *A Sense of Place: Jews, Identity, and Social Status in Colonial British America, 1654–1831* (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 2000); Snyder, "Rules, Rights, and Redemption," 153.

13. Jacob M. Price, "Glasgow, the Tobacco Trade, and the Scottish Customs," *Scottish Historical Review* 63, no. 1 (1984): 1–36; M. L. Robertson, "Scottish Commerce and the American War of Independence," *Economic History Review* 9, no. 1 (1956): 123; T. M. Devine, "Glasgow Merchants and the Collapse of the Tobacco Trade, 1775–1783," *Scottish Historical Review* 52, no. 153 (1973): 50–74.

14. The impact of these changes is evident in the growth of Quaker investment in the tobacco trade from the Chesapeake to London. Jacob Price's research shows that while Quaker merchants accounted for no more than 8.3 percent of London's tobacco imports in the late 1690s, that figure had grown to 13.3 percent in 1733 and 19.2 percent by 1747. Indeed, as Price remarked, the shift of the Society of Friends from persecuted religious sect to a prosperous and respectable element of society marked "one of the most striking social transformations" of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Jacob M. Price, "English Quaker Merchants and the War at Sea," in *West Indies Accounts: Essays on the History of the British Caribbean and the Atlantic Economy in Honour of Richard Sheridan,* ed. R. A. McDonald (Kingston, Jamaica, 1996), 64–65, 72–81. See also Jacob M. Price, "The Great Quaker Business Families of Eighteenth Century London: The Rise and Fall of a Sectarian Patriciate," in *The World of William Penn,* ed. Richard S. Dunn and Mary Maples Dunn (Philadelphia, 1984), 363–69.

15. J. F. Bosher, "Huguenot Merchants and the Protestant International in the Seventeenth Century," *William and Mary Quarterly,* 3rd ser., 52, no. 1 (1995): 77, 80, 98–100; Bosher, "An International Family Circle of Protestant Merchants at Bordeaux, 1656–1686," *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 25, no. 5 (1993): 502–7; Joseph P. Ward, "Fictitious Shoemakers, Agitated Weavers, and the Limits of Popular Xenophobia in Elizabethan London," in Vigne and Littleton, *From Strangers to Citizens,* 80–87; Miriam Yardeni, "The Birth of Political Consciousness among Huguenot Refugees and Their Descendants in England," in ibid., 404–11; Robin Gwynn, "The Huguenot in Britain, the 'Protestant International,' and the Defeat of Louis XIV," in ibid., 412–23. In fact, the Huguenot were granted a charter for their London church by Edward VI in 1550, and the immigration of skilled Huguenot artisans was actively encouraged under Elizabeth I as a buttress to the Protestant cause. See Ward, "Fictitious Shoemakers," 83.

16. For the most recent spin on the rights question, see James Homer Williams, "'Abominable Religion' and Dutch (In)tolerance: The Jews and Petrus

Stuyvesant," *De Halve Maen* 71 no. 4 (1998): 85–91, and James Homer Williams, "An Atlantic Perspective on the Jewish Struggle for Rights and Opportunities in Brazil, New Netherland, and New York," in *The Jews and the Expansion of Europe to the West, 1450 to 1800,* ed. Paolo Bernardini and Norman Fiering, 369–93 (New York, 2001). Earlier studies include Samuel Oppenheim, *The Early History of the Jews in New York, 1654–1664* (New York, 1909); Max James Kohler, "Phases of Jewish Life in New York before 1800," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 3 (1896): 73–86; Jacob Rader Marcus, *Early American Jewry: The Jews of New York, New England, and Canada, 1649–1794,* vol. 1 (Philadelphia, 1951), 24–33; Jacob Rader Marcus, *The Colonial American Jew,* 3 vols. (Detroit, 1970), 1: 215–34.

17. Berthold Fernow, ed., *The Records of New Amsterdam from 1653–1674 Anno Domini* (New York, 1897), 7: 154; Oppenheim, *Early History of the Jews in New York,* 35–36.

18. On August 28, 1655, after Jews had been living in New Amsterdam for about a year, Stuyvesant and his council made the determination, by ordinance, that Jews would be exempt from military service on grounds of "the disgust and dislike of the mass of citizens to be Fellow soldiers of the [Jewish] Nation, and to watch in the same guardhouse" as the Jews. In lieu of service, Jews residing in New Amsterdam were required to pay a fee of sixty-five stivers a month. Edmund B. O'Callaghan, comp., *Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland, 1638–1674* (Albany, NY, 1868), 191–92. Ten weeks later, on November 5, Asser Levy and Jacob Barsimson petitioned "to be permitted to keep guard with other burghers, or be free from the tax which others of their nation pay, as they must earn their living by manual labor." The petition was denied, although the two were invited to leave the colony if they could not afford to pay. Charles T. Gehring, trans. and ed., *Council Minutes, 1655–1656* (New Netherland Documents Series, vol. 6) (Syracuse, NY, 1995), 128. For Asser Levy's petition of April 1657, see Fernow, *Records of New Amsterdam,* 7: 154.

19. See, e.g., Hayne, *An Abstract of All the Statutes,* and the discussion of Hayne's case in Katz, *The Jews in the History of England,* 145–89.

20. Marcus, *Early American Jewry,* 1: 38–42. Marcus cites the cases of Jacob Lucena (denied the right to trade between New York and Esopus [Kingston] in 1678) and Rabba Couty (shipments confiscated in 1671) to illustrate the disadvantages suffered by Jewish merchants lacking the appropriate "citizenship" credentials under English law; ibid., 37–38, 41. The Lucena case is discussed below. See also Fernow, *Records of New Amsterdam,* 7: 154; Maurits Prins, "Asser Levy," *Judaism* 41 (Fall 1992): 395–400.

21. Johannes Megapolensis to the Classis of Amsterdam, March 18, 1655, in *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609–1664,* Original Narratives of Early Amer-

ican History series, ed. J. Franklin Jameson (New York, 1909), 391–93 (emphasis added). The suggestion that Jewish merchants would subsume local trade for themselves was a frequent complaint of English merchants in London and Jamaica.

22. On November 29, 1655, Salvador D'Andrade, Jacob Cohen Henriques, and Abraham de Lucena, who had goods on board a sloop bound for the Delaware, petitioned the council for a general right to trade in all parts of New Netherland. This was denied, although they were given a pass to proceed to the Delaware to trade the goods at hand. Gehring, *Council Minutes,* 149–51; O'Callaghan, *Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland,* 193n. This situation was mild considering the other difficulties Sephardic merchants encountered in trying to prosecute trade in New Netherland. On August 24, 1656, Moses da Silva of Amsterdam complained to the directors of the West India Company that more than a year earlier (May 1655) he had shipped forty anckers of brandy to the attention of David Fereira in New Amsterdam but that the captain had delivered the goods to the company's warehouse. Since the local authorities had been unsuccessful in getting him to comply with orders to deliver them to Fereira, he now sought compensation for the loss. Charles T. Gehring, trans. and ed., *Correspondence, 1654–1658* (New Netherland Documents Series, vol. 12) (Syracuse, NY, 2003), 100–101; Gehring, *Council Minutes,* 193, 260. And in December 1655, eleven hogsheads of tobacco were seized from the *Nieuw Amsterdam* when it was alleged that Jacob Cohen Henriques had attempted to smuggle them on board without first informing the fiscal (an officeholder) and paying the required duty. The captain, as in the da Silva case, pleaded ignorance of the matter. Gehring, *Council Minutes,* 163, 167–71, 188–90. With D'Andrade acting as surety and co-partner, Henriques finally agreed to pay bond on the eleven hogsheads. Arnold J. F. Van Laer, trans. and ann., *New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch,* vol. 3, *Register of the Provincial Secretary, 1648–1660,* document no. 141a, 438–39.

23. Leo Hershkowitz, "New Amsterdam's Twenty-three Jews—Myth or Reality?" in *Hebrew and the Bible in America: The First Two Centuries,* ed. Shalom Goldman, 171–83 (Hanover, NH, 1993).

24. Hershkowitz, "New Amsterdam's Twenty-three Jews," 173–74; Leo Hershkowitz, "Asser Levy's Signature," *American Jewish History* 79, no. 4 (1990): 501–2; Malcolm H. Stern, "A New Look at Our Jewish Founding Father," *American Jewish Archives* 26, no. 1 (1974): 71.

25. Fernow, *Records of New Amsterdam,* 7: 258–59.

26. Ibid., 4: 173; 5: 176–77, 183, 188, 222.

27. For a complete transcription of the Levy Estate inventory, see Leo Hersh-

kowitz, "Asser Levy and the Inventories of Early New York Jews," *American Jewish History* 80, no. 1 (1990): 21–55.

28. Ibid., 35–55; Peter R. Christoph and Florence A. Christoph, eds., *The Andros Papers, 1674–1676: Files of the Provincial Secretary of New York during the Administration of Gov. Sir Edmund Andros, 1674–1680* (Syracuse, NY, 1989); Arnold J. F. Van Laer, *Minutes of the Court of Fort Orange and Beverwyck* [2 vols., covering 1652–60] (Albany, NY, 1923); Van Laer, *Minutes of the Court of Albany, Rensselaerswyck, and Schenectady* [3 vols., covering 1668–85] (Albany, NY, 1928).

29. Van Laer, *Minutes of the Court of Fort Orange,* 2: 152, 157, 159, 193, 194, 200. The individuals sued were Jan van Eeckelen, Jacob Loockermans, Hendrick Gerritsen, Dirckjen Martensen, Jan Roeloffson, and Jacob Teunissen. The Roeloffson and Teunissen suits refer to "goods received," but the other suits may have involved either debts for goods or on bond. Loockermans and Roeloffson apparently had a partnership that fell apart, and Loockermans was sued by a number of other individuals, including Roeloffson, for debt during this period.

30. Simon W. Rosendale, "An Early Ownership of Real Estate in Albany, New York, by a Jewish Trader," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 3 (1895): 66–67, quoting the original document.

31. Ibid., 63–66.

32. Van Laer, *Minutes of the Court of Albany,* 1: 179 (Extraordinary Session of August 18, 1670). Levy was assessed this special tax along with ten other individuals; the group included four women and two military officers, with the highest rate assessed at 100 florins and the lowest at 25 florins.

33. Hershkowitz, "Asser Levy and the Inventories," 40–53. In August 1677, Asser Levy sued Gerrit Teunise for "198 boards," which constituted the price of twelve sheep that Levy had sent up the river the previous fall, because Teunise "was to send down the boards at the first opportunity, which he has thus far failed to do." Levy's claim for damages included "lost time" for "having kept a boat here to ship the same according to his promise." Van Laer, *Minutes of the Court of Albany,* 2: 259. As previously noted, Levy's estate included "timber to build a house & planks"; Hershkowitz, "Asser Levy and the Inventories," 39. As beaver was the common currency of Fort Orange in the days prior to 1690, this does not necessarily reflect an intent by Levy to engage in trade with the Indians, and, indeed, his contacts reflect more dealings with ordinary farmers and tradesmen living in the Hudson Valley than with influential public officials; see, e.g., Van Laer, *Minutes of the Court of Fort Orange* and *Minutes of the Court of Albany.*

34. Rosendale, "An Early Ownership of Real Estate in Albany," 65.

35. Fernow, *Records of New Amsterdam,* 4: 73. Pleyvier attempted to satisfy

the debt by assigning the house to Levy, but Levy demanded full payment of the amount due (1,620 guilders) in cash.

36. Ibid., 6: 298, 302, 306, 312 (Court Sessions for May 16, June 6, July 11, and July 16, 1671). Davis countersued for freight charges amounting to 121 florins, and the two cases were heard together. Lucena claimed that a dozen pairs of stockings had gone missing from the shipment. The court ordered that if Lucena could show evidence of delivery to Davis, Davis would have to pay him for the missing stockings. Lucena must indeed have had such evidence, because a lawsuit was subsequently filed in the Court at Albany over the theft of a dozen pairs of stockings from a ship captained by Silvester Salisbury.

37. Ibid., 7: 135–36 (Court Session of 30 October 1674). The defendant, Adriaen Jansen, admitted receiving the wheat but claimed it was in satisfaction of a debt that Palingh owed to Jansen, and he therefore refused to give credit to Lucena for the payment. The quote comes from Lucena's 1678 petition to Governor Andros, reproduced in Marcus, *Early American Jewry,* 1: 37–38, from the New York Colonial Manuscripts Collection, 28, fol. 5, New York State Library Collections (hereafter NYCM).

38. Edmund B. O'Callaghan, *Calendar of British Historical Manuscripts in the Office of the Secretary of State, Albany, New York, 1664–1776* (Ridgewood, NJ, 1968), 4 (reprinted from the original edition of 1866), referencing NYCM, 28, fols. 5–6. For the text of the August 23, 1678 petition, see Marcus, *Early American Jewry,* 1: 37–38.

39. O'Callaghan, *Calendar of British Historical Manuscripts,* 122 (NYC M 33, fol. 29).

40. Ibid., 122, 144, 145, 147 (NYCM, 33, fols. 29, 240, 248, 276, 305). The events related here occurred between April 26 and October 9, 1686. Brown and Gabay were not the only Jewish merchants to attempt to evade the colony's restrictions on trade, whether knowingly or unknowingly. In 1756, Solomon Hays reported to the authorities that Chapman Abrahams and Levy Solomons, two Jews claiming the right to keep shop in Albany as natural-born subjects of the English crown, were in fact from Holland and had not yet been naturalized. Sheldon Godfrey and Judith Godfrey, "The King vs. Moses Gomez and Others: Opening the Prosecutor's File Over 200 Years Later," *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* 80 (1991):397–407; Sheldon J. Godfrey and Judith C. Godfrey, *Search Out the Land: The Jews and the Growth of Equality in British Colonial America, 1740–1867* (Montreal, 1995), 43.

41. On the development of internal trade, see Cathy D. Matson, *Merchants and Empire: Trading in Colonial New York* (Baltimore, 1998), 215–64.

42. David Hancock, "Commerce and Conversation in the Eighteenth-Cen-

tury Atlantic: The Invention of Madeira Wine," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 29, no. 2 (1998): 197, 203–4.

43. Timothy H. Breen, "An Empire of Goods: The Anglicization of Colonial America, 1690–1776," *Journal of British Studies* 25, no. 4 (1986): 467–99; Breen, "'Baubles of Britain': The American and Consumer Revolutions of the Eighteenth Century," *Past and Present,* no. 119 (1988), 73–104; Breen, "Ideology and Nationalism on the Eve of the American Revolution: Revisions *Once More* in Need of Revising," *Journal of American History* 84, no. 1 (1997): 13–39; Breen, "Narrative of Commercial Life: Consumption, Ideology, and Community on the Eve of the American Revolution," *William and Mary Quarterly,* 3rd ser., 40, no. 3 (1993): 471–501.

44. Carole Shammas, *The Pre-industrial Consumer in England and America* (Oxford, 1990).

45. Thomas M. Doerflinger, *A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise: Merchants and Economic Development in Revolutionary Philadelphia* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1986); Matson, *Merchants and Empire.*

46. Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York, 1993); David S. Shields, *Civil Tongues and Polite Letters in British America* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1997).

47. Some who have done so have elected to present the evidence from the perspective of farmers and artisans—the small producers whose participation in the wider Atlantic markets gave rise to a deeper penetration of "refinement" into the rural hinterland than has been commonly presumed, but one that can be seen in both the quality and quantity of material objects of British manufacture which have been found at rural eighteenth-century sites. See, e.g., David Colin Crass, Bruce R. Penner, and Tammy R. Hudgins, "Gentility and Material Culture on the Carolina Frontier," *Historical Archaeology* 33, no. 3 (1999): 14–31; Nancy Carlisle, "Pursuing Refinement in Rural New England, 1750–1850: An Exhibition Review," *Winterthur Portfolio* 34, no. 4 (1999): 239–49. For scholarship on the growing participation of small producers in transatlantic markets, see, e.g., Winifred Rothenberg, "The Market and Massachusetts Farmers, 1750–1855," *Journal of Economic History* 41, no. 2 (1981), 283–314; Ronald Schultz, "Small Producer Thought in Early America, Part I: Philadelphia Artisans and Price Control," *Pennsylvania History* 54, no. 2 (1987): 115–47; Breen, "An Empire of Goods," 467–68, 478–79.

48. Breen, "A Narrative of Commercial Life," 476; Bushman, *The Refinement of America,* xvii–xviii, 406–9.

49. Leo Hershkowitz, "Powdered Tin and Rose Petals: Myer Myers, Goldsmith, and Peter Middleton, Physician," *American Jewish History* 70, no. 4

(1981): 462. Hershkowitz names eight different clients served by both Myers and Middleton, including Robert Livingston and members of the influential Schuyler, Morris, Bancker, Remsen, and Duane families.

50. S. Broches, *The Jews in New England, Six Monographs: I. Historical Study of the Jews in Massachusetts (1650–1750)* (New York, 1942), 22, 41–51. Original correspondence between Mordecai Gomez, Michael Asher, and Isaac Solomon was discovered by Broches in the records of the Supreme Judicial Court. Cathy Matson has suggested that the interest of New York merchants in Chesapeake tobacco and, consequently, the local manufacture of snuff arose after the lowering of imperial duties in the 1720s. Matson, *Merchants and Empire,* 200, 262.

51. Timothy H. Breen, *Tobacco Culture: The Mentality of the Great Tidewater Planters on the Eve of the Revolution* (Princeton, NJ, 1985), 38–39, 58, 127–28.

52. Naphtali and Isaac Hart, Merchants in Company, March 3, 1772, Newport Land Evidences, vol. 12, fols. 257–59, Collections of the Newport Historical Society, Newport, Rhode Island (hereafter CNHS). At the time the Hart brothers filed for protection as insolvent debtors early in 1772, they owned a lot on Marlborough Street in the Easton's Point section of Newport which contained a snuff mill in addition to their house and stable. They also had a snuff mill on their farm in Portsmouth.

53. "Receipts for the Manufacture of Snuff," Isaac Mendes da Sola to unknown correspondent, undated (circa 1825), Papers of the De Sola family, Collections of the American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio.

54. Felsenstein points to the common usage of the word "Jew" in the eighteenth century to refer to a cheat or a rogue. Frank Felsenstein, *Anti-Semitic Stereotypes: A Paradigm of Otherness in English Popular Culture,* 1600–1830 (Baltimore, 1995), 48–49, 74–75, 80. This use of the word was not unknown in the British American colonies.

55. *Boston Gazette; or, Weekly Advertiser,* nos. 95–97 (October 22, October 29, and November 5, 1754), 4. Melville's advertisement, dated October 21, appeared alone in the October 22 issue but was accompanied by Abrahams response, printed just below it, in the two succeeding issues.

56. See entries for July 2, July 18, July 24, August 9, September 4, and September 6, 1750; August 27 and October 18, 1751; January 23, February 20, April 21, April 24, and July 18, 1752, in Account book of John Bannister, 1747–53 (unpaginated), Collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence.

57. James B. Hedges, *The Browns of Providence Plantations: The Colonial Years* (Providence, RI, 1968), 9. Obadiah Brown apparently began his own spermaceti works at some point between 1751 and 1753.

58. As to New York, see Matson, *Merchants and Empire,* 262. New York merchants who had become involved in setting up local spermaceti manufactories by the 1770s included Solomon Simpson.

59. Aaron Lopez to Hayman Levy, June 30, 1755, box 42, folder 8, CNHS.

60. Indeed, in the 1775 tax list for the town of Newport, not only is Lopez listed as the single wealthiest taxpayer, but he also paid more tax than all other taxpayers combined. Newport, Rhode Island, Tax List for 1775, Miscellaneous SC-9094, Collections of the American Jewish Archives (photostat of printed original in CNHS).

61. Moses Lopez Ramos escaped to London from Portugal in 1726. Shortly thereafter, he arrived in New York with the Rivera family, to whom he was related through his mother. Moses Lopez (who dropped the second surname during the 1730s) lived with the Riveras in New York and later married his cousin Rebecca Rodriguez Rivera. He had moved his family to Newport in 1740. Moses Lopez was also conducting trade with Hayman Levy in 1755. See, e.g., Moses Lopez to Hayman Levy, January 23, 1755, Lopez and Vernon Papers, box 48, folder 2, CNHS. This letter requests that Levy find for Moses Lopez green wax "of which I am in great want," confirming that Moses Lopez was still involved in the candle manufactory.

62. Breen, "Ideology and Nationalism," 17–19. Although in the mid-seventeenth century tea was accessible only to the aristocracy, by the mid-1720s, tea was affordable to all classes in London and the major provincial centers. Shammas, *The Pre-industrial Consumer,* 83–86.

63. Aaron Lopez to Hayman Levy, November 29, 1753, Papers of Aaron Lopez, box 42, folder 8, CNHS. This letter, and others in the same file, are letterbook copies not signed by Aaron Lopez and thus have not been previously identified as having been written by him. Neither of the two best-known studies of Lopez, for example, mentions these letters. Bruce Bigelow states that "evidence of Aaron's early start as a merchant is scant," and begins his discussion of the Lopez enterprise with the 1760s. See Bruce Bigelow, "Aaron Lopez: Colonial Merchant of Newport," *Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes* 2, no. 1 (1956): 5–14. Chyet, in his biography of Lopez, does not record any correspondence of, or sales by, Aaron Lopez prior to 1754, although he does note the early relations with Hayman Levy (by 1756) and other New York Jewish merchants during the 1750s. See Stanley F. Chyet, *Lopez of Newport: Colonial American Merchant Prince* (Detroit, 1970), 24–29. Personal details mentioned in the letters in this file nevertheless confirm that Aaron Lopez was indeed the author of the correspondence.

64. Aaron Lopez to Hayman Levy, June 20, 1754, Papers of Aaron Lopez, box 42, folder 8, CNHS.

65. Aaron Lopez to Hayman Levy, July 23, 1754, ibid.

66. Aaron Lopez to Hayman Levy, September 3, 1754, ibid.

67. Aaron Lopez to Hayman Levy, April 10, 1755, ibid.

68. On the market for Madeira in the American colonies, see David Hancock, "A 'Revolution in the Trade': Madeira Wine and the Elaboration of Distribution Infrastructure in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World," unpublished paper presented to the Boston Area Seminar in Early American History at the Massachusetts Historical Society, March 12, 1998.

69. Joshua Hart to Aaron Lopez, October 15, 1772, Papers of Aaron Lopez, box 14, folder 6, Collections of the American Jewish Historical Society, New York City (hereafter CAJHS).

70. See Memorandum of Cordials, undated, associated with Bill of Lading for the Brig *Ann*'s voyage to Africa under Capt. William English in October 1772, G. W. Haight Collection of Aaron Lopez Papers, box 168, folder 7; Bill of Lading for the Sloop *Mary,* May 29, 1770 (destination unknown), ibid.; Bill of Lading for the Snow *Joseph,* June 7, 1771 (to Newfoundland), Haight Papers Group 2&3, box 177, folder 2; Capt. John Hyer to Aaron Lopez, March 23, 1771, G. W. Haight Collection of Aaron Lopez Papers, box 169, folder 5; Entry for Joshua Hart, August 3, in Aaron Lopez Shop Blotter for the period May 24 to Dec 7, 1773, vol. 749, unpaginated. All items listed are in CNHS. Hyer wrote to Lopez from Savannah, Georgia, that "for the Cordials [I] think will not sell [here] att half the price p[er] Invoice, so that I believe shall Carry them to Jamaica."

71. Joshua Hart to Aaron Lopez, October 15, 1772, Papers of Aaron Lopez, box 14, folder 6, CAJHS.

72. On January 8, 1773, for example, Aaron Lopez and Jacob Rodriguez Rivera made a present of Spanish snuff and Port wine to Judge Frederick Smyth and Judge Daniel Horsmanden, then on an official visit to Newport from New York. See Frederick Smyth, Esq., to Aaron Lopez and Jacob Rodriguez Rivera, January 8, 1773, Papers of Aaron Lopez, box 14, folder 10, CAJHS. Smyth was moved to write to Lopez and Rivera to thank them for the unsolicited gift, whose quality he deemed "exceeding good." He assured them he would not soon forget their "extraordinary civility" and would indeed "be happy to have it in his power to return such unexpected and acceptable kindness." Smyth and Horsmanden arrived in Newport on December 31, 1772, to serve on a Commission of Inquiry appointed by the Crown to investigate the destruction at Warwick of the customs schooner *Gaspee.* They returned to New York on January 31, 1773. Franklin E. Dexter, *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles* (New York, 1901), 1: 326, 329–40.

73. "Rules Nessesary to be Observed at the Club, Vizt," Perry Papers, box 69, folder 2, CNHS, published as "Rules of a Newport Club of Jews, November 25, 1761," in *A Documentary History of the Jews in the United States, 1654–1875,*

3rd ed., ed. Morris U. Schappes (New York, 1971), no. 28, 35–37; reprinted from the *Newport Historical Magazine* 4 (1883): 58–60. The title given by Schappes is misleading, insofar as the rules do not anywhere refer to the body as a "Jewish" club; only the names of the signatories provide this information.

74. Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J. H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (Bloomington, IN, 1982), 9.

75. Grant McCracken, *Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities* (Bloomington, IN, 1988), 21–22.

76. Breen, "An Empire of Goods," 478, 486–89.

77. Hancock, "Commerce and Conversation," 197, 203–4.

78. Aaron Lopez to Hayman Levy, March 25, 1755, Papers of Aaron Lopez, box 42, folder 8, CNHS. With respect to the issue of credit, Lopez noted that "the usual Cred[i]t being Six Months" in Rhode Island "it is too short a period for my Small foundation to Comply with in good time." For this reason, he applied to Levy for credit, "as the Common Cred[i]t In NYork is a Twelve month I flator my Self . . . that you will favour me So far as to send me about the Value of One hundred pounds New York Money In the goods of the Inclosed Memorandum for which you may depend upon my honour I shall take Care to make good pay in Due time." Ibid.

79. John Green to Aaron Lopez, June 27, 1758, and July 1, 1758; William Hall to Aaron Lopez, September 4, 1758; John Gorton to Aaron Lopez, November 24, 1758; and Elisha Greene to Aaron Lopez, October 16, 1758; Aaron Lopez Letterbook, folder 621, CNHS. Gorton's letter specified "goods from Boston," while Green desired "tea or any sort of goods."

80. Ebenezer Goddard to Aaron Lopez, August 30, 1764 and September 14, 1764; Joab Stafford to Aaron Lopez, October 3, 1764; Pricilla Paine to Aaron Lopez, September 3, 1764, and October 20, 1764; Aaron Isaacs to Aaron Lopez, July 23, 1764; Simeon Potter to Aaron Lopez, June 21, 1764; Aaron Lopez Letterbook, folder 621, CNHS. Stafford (in Coventry) and Goddard (in New London, Connecticut) supplied Lopez with plank in return for flour, rice, tea, indigo, molasses or sugar, and dry goods. Paine supplied Lopez with coffee and was evidently a shopkeeper in the Town of Bristol, while Isaacs (in Easthampton, Long Island) supplied him with beef. Lopez supplied Potter with two yards of black broadcloth. In addition, by 1761 Lopez had correspondents in Swansey and Rehoboth, Massachusetts, the area in which he took up residence from 1761 to 1762 in order to obtain naturalization in Massachusetts. See also Hancock, "Commerce and Conversation," 204.

81. J. H. Kettner, *The Development of American Citizenship, 1608–1870*

(Chapel Hill, 1984), 117. Isaac Elizer was naturalized in New York City during 1763. The two men were specifically denied naturalization in Rhode Island because their status as Jews would purportedly have violated "the first principle" upon which the colony had been founded, namely, Christianity.

82. Bartlett, *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island,* vol. 7, *1770–1776,* 213.

83. In 1775, out of a total assessment of ú800 for the town of Newport, Aaron Lopez paid £32.9.10. By comparison, the highest rated Christian taxpayers, merchants George Rome and Joseph and William Wanton (as partners), paid £13.16.6 each. No other taxpayers were rated higher than £10. Of the remaining seventeen Jewish taxpayers, only Jacob Rodriguez Rivera and Moses Levy were rated between £5 and £10. See Newport, Rhode Island Tax List for 1775, Miscellaneous SC-9094, Collections of the American Jewish Archives (photostat of printed original in CNHS). The appended Tax List for 1772 shows 9 additional Jewish taxpayers, only one of whom (the Estate of Jacob Polock) was rated over ú10, although the total assessment that year was £1200.

84. Kettner, *The Development of American Citizenship,* 116–17; Governor Pinfold's manuscript notes in *Acts Passes in the Island of Barbados* (London, 1764), Papers of Charles Pinfold, Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress; Snyder, "Rules, Rights, and Redemption," 156, 158–59, 161–63.

85. Quoted in Max J. Kohler, "Jewish Activity in American Colonial Commerce," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 10 (1902): 47.

Chapter Five: La Nación *among the Nations*

1. Ivana Elbl, "Nation, Bolsa, and Factory: Three Institutions of Late-Medieval Portuguese Trade with Flanders," *International History Review* 14, no. 1 (1992): 13; J. A. Goris, *Étude sur les colonies marchandes méridionales (Portugais, Espagnols, Italiens) à Anvers de 1488 à 1567* (Louvain, 1925); regarding "nations" more generally, see Frédéric Mauro, "Merchant Communities, 1350–1750" in *The Rise of Merchant Empires. Long-Distance Trade in the Early Modern World, 1350–1750,* ed. James D. Tracy (New York, 1990), 255, 262–69, 285–86.

2. James C. Boyajian, *Portuguese Bankers at the Court of Spain, 1626–1650* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1983), 5–14.

3. On the various branches of what Daniel Swetchinski calls the interlocking diaspora of the Portuguese Sephardim and New Christians, see Swetchinski, *Reluctant Cosmopolitans: The Portuguese Jews of Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam* (London, 2000), 56, 69, 83.

4. See Philip D. Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History* (New York, 1984); Francesca Trivellato, "Juifs de Livourne, Italiens de Lisbonne, hindous de

Goa: Réseaux marchands et échanges interculturels à l'époque moderne," *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 58 (2003): 581–603; Claude Markowits, "Indian Merchant Networks Outside India in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: A Preliminary Survey," *Modern Asian Studies* 33, no. 4 (1999): 883–911; Dieter Haller, "Place and Ethnicity in Two Merchant Diasporas: A Comparison of Sindhis and Jews in Gilbraltar," *Global Networks* 3, no. 1 (2003): 75–96; and the recent abridgement of S. D. Goitein's classic work, *A Mediterranean Society: An Abridgement in One Volume* (Berkeley, 1999).

5. Carolyn Lougee Chappell, "'The Pains I took to Save My/His Family': Escape Accounts by a Huguenot Mother and Daughter after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes," *French Historical Studies* 22, no. 1 (1999): 7.

6. Nathan Wachtel, *La foi du souvenir: Labyrinthes marrane* (Paris, 2001), 77–161.

7. Nathalie Zemon Davis, "Religion and Capitalism Once Again? Jewish Merchant Culture in the Seventeenth Century," *Representations,* no. 59 (1997), 56–84; Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500–1700: A Political and Economic History* (London, 1993), 270–77.

8. José Pellicaer y Osau, *El comercio impedido* (Madrid, 1640); Juan Ignacio Pulido Serano, *Injurias a Cristo: Religión, política y antijudaísmo en el siglo XVII* (Alcalá de Henares, 2002).

9. Cited in Miriam Bodian, "'Men of the Nation': The Shaping of Converso Identity in Early Modern Europe," *Past and Present,* no. 143 (1994), 57.

10. Vicente da Costa de Matos, *Breve discurse contra a heretica perfidia do Iudaismo (1622),* British Library (BL) Rare books (Rb.) 482.a.3 (3), fols. 143v-144r.

11. Davis, "Religion and Capitalism"; Werner Sombart, *The Jews and Modern Capitalism,* trans. M. Epstein (New York, 1969); Karl Marx, "On the Jewish Question," reprinted in *The Marx-Engels Reader,* 2nd ed., ed. Robert Tucker (New York, 1978), 48–50.

12. David Landes, *The Wealth and Poverty of Nations: Why Some Are So Rich and Some So Poor* (New York, 1999); Marc Egnal, *Divergent Paths: How Culture and Institutions Have Shaped North American Growth* (New York, 1996); Stephen Innes, *Creating the Commonwealth: The Economic Culture of Puritan New England* (New York, 1995).

13. Juan Carlos Sola Corbacho, "Family, Paisanaje, and Migration among Madrid's Merchants (1750–1800)," *Journal of Family History* 27, no. 1 (2002): 3, and passim; Jean-Philippe Priotti, "Emigración, redes vascas de negocios y poder en el imperiod español (1500–1630): un punto de partida," *Historias* (Mexico) 42 (1999): 110–11.

14. J. F. Bosher, "Huguenot Merchants and the Protestant International in the Seventeenth Century," *William and Mary Quarterly,* 3rd ser., 52, no. 1 (1995): 77–102.

15. Avner Greif, "Reputation and Coalitions in Medieval Trade: Evidence on the Maghribi Traders," *Journal of Economic History* 49, no. 4 (1989): 857–82.

16. Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (New York, 1998); on peasant networks of gossiping, reputation making, and sanctioning, see James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of State Resistance* (New Haven, CT, 1986), 262–63.

17. See Jack Goody's discussion of the relationship between Indian kin structures (especially the Hindu Undivided Family) and the organization of Indian business in his *The East in the West* (New York, 1996), 138–61.

18. Juan Javier Pescador, "The New World Inside a Basque Village: The Oiartzun Valley and Its Atlantic Exchanges, 1550–1800" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1998), 22–69.

19. On the estimated size of the Huguenot diaspora, see Myriam Yardeni, "Le protestantisme et le refuge Huguenot," in *La diaspora des Huguenots: Les réfugiés protestants de France et leur dispersion dans le monde (XVIe–XVIIIe siècles),* ed. Eckhart Birnsteil and Chrystel Bernat (Paris, 2001), 32; Bosher, "Huguenot Merchants," 78; on patterns of migration, Chappell, "Escape Accounts," 1.

20. On the motives for migration toward the north, see Swetchinski, *Reluctant Cosmopolitans,* 58–60; for those who migrated into the Indies, see Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert, *A Nation upon the Ocean Sea: Portugal's Atlantic Diaspora and the Crisis of the Spanish Empire* (New York, 2007), 41–66.

21. Swetchinski, *Reluctant Cosmopolitans,* 97; on Portuguese smuggling rings, see, Auke Pieter Jacobs, "Legal and Illegal Emigration from Seville, 1550–1650," in *"To Make America": European Emigration in the Early Modern Period,* ed. Ida Altman and James Horn (Berkeley, 1991), 70–72.

22. Deposition of Ana Baez in the trial over the embargo of Blas de la Peña's goods, 1641. Archivo General de Indias (hereafter AGI), Contaduria (hereafter Cont.) 179 (14), 141r-v.

23. Deposition of Antonio Diaz de Villiaviciosa in trial over embargo, 1641, AGI, Cont. 179 (14), 79r-84v.

24. Wachtel, *La foi du souvenir,* 81.

25. Paul Butel, "Comportement familiaux dans le négoce Bordelais au XVIIIe siècle," *Annales du Midi* 88 (1976): 139–57; see also, José do Nascimiento Raposo, *Don Gabriel da Silva: A Portuguese-Jewish Banker in Eighteenth-Century Bordeaux* (Ph.D. diss., York University, 1989), 50.

26. Manuel Bautista Perez, Cacheu, to Antonio Nuñes da Costa, Lisbon, Dec.

1617, Archivo General de la Nación Lima (hereafter AGNL), Inquisición (hereafter Inq.), Contencioso (hereafter Conten.), 21.

27. Paul Butel indicates that 40 percent of Bordeaux merchants had two children or fewer and that 76 percent had three or fewer; see Butel, "Comportements familiaux," 150. Among the Basque merchant families studied by Sola Corbacho 46 percent of couples had no children, 21 percent had one, 16 percent had two, and only 17 percent had three or more; see Juan Carlos Corbacho, "El papel de la organización familiar en la dinámica del sector mercantil madrileño a finales del siglo XVIII," *Historia Social* (Madrid), no. 32 (1998), 14. Compare these figures with, e.g., the early modern English average of four children per family, Peter Laslett, *Household and Family Size in Past Times* (New York, 1972); John Demos, *A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony* (New York, 1970), 64–66.

28. His own, that of his wife, Guiomar Enríquez, that of his business partner and brother-in-law, Sebastián Duarte, and that of another brother-in-law, Luis de Vega. They formed part of what James Boyajian has identified as the Rodrigues de Lisboa house. Boyajian, *Portuguese Bankers,* app. A-6.

29. For the house of Gaspar and Alfonso Rodríguez Passariños, see Claim of Francisco Lopez Nieto against the Tribunal of Cartagena de Indias and estate of Juan Rodriguez Mesa, 1637, Archivo Historico Nacional (hereafter AHN), Inq. 1608 (19); Testimony of Enrique de Andrade, Trial over embargo, 1641, AGI, Conten.179 (14), 288r; for the house of Simon Rodríguez Bueno, Testimony of Antonio Nuñez Gramaxo's guarantors, February 4, 1637, AHN, Inq.1611 (17), 186r-v; finally, in Madrid, the Inquisition noted more than a dozen Portuguese houses shared by two or more families, many of which were situated on the same street. The list, made out in 1634, is reproduced in Julio Caro Baroja, *Los Judios en la España Moderna y Contemporánea,* 3 vols. (Madrid, 1961), 3: 326–29.

30. Testimony of Sebastian Duarte, trial of Manuel Bautista Perez, August 8, 1635, AHN, Inq. leg. 1647 (13), 154v; and inventory of the estate of Sebastian Duarte, June 21, 1635. AGNL, Inq. Conten. leg. 29, 1r–14v.

31. Michèle Moret, *Aspects de la société marchande de Séville au XVIIe siécle* (Paris, 1967), 51.

32. Butel, "Comportements familiaux," 144.

33. Boyajian, *Portuguese Bankers,* app. A-2.

34. Ibid., app. A-7.

35. Ibid., app. A-8.

36. The term comes from Swetchinski, *Reluctant Cosmopolitans,* 108.

37. Corbacho, "Organización familiar," 84; Herbert Lüthy, *La banque protestante en France, de la révocation de l'Édit de Nantes à la Révolution* (Paris, 1959–61).

38. Corbacho, "Organización familiar."

39. Raposo, "Don Gabriel da Silva," 61.

40. For Lisbon, see David Grant Smith, *The Mercantile Class of Portugal and Brazil in the Seventeenth Century: A Socio-Economic Study of the Merchants of Lisbon and Bahia, 1620–1690* (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1975), 18. For Brazil, see Bruno Feitler, *Inquisition, juifs et nouveaux-chrétiens au Brésil: Le Nordeste XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Louvain, 2003), 302–10.

41. Religious endogamy was a key manner of consolidating these communities and was pursued for these reasons. But it also had an external component in the form of regulations passed by Dutch authorities prohibiting relations between Jews of the Portuguese Nation and Protestant members of the republic. See Miriam Bodian, *Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation: Conversos and Community in Early Modern Amsterdam* (Bloomington, IN, 1997), 61.

42. Bernard Cottret, *The Huguenots in England: Immigration and Settlement, c. 1550–1700,* trans. Peregrine and Adriana Stevenson (New York, 1991), 17–19. 257–58.

43. The exception here helps prove the rule: the Portuguese Jewish community of Amsterdam was primarily founded by merchants and their families, which may explain the relatively more balanced gender composition of this migrant stream. By the latter half of the seventeenth century, it had become a self-sustaining and highly endogamic community. See Swetchinski, *Reluctant Cosmopolitans,* 69ff., 85–88, 161.

44. Studnicki-Gizbert, *A Nation upon the Ocean Sea,* 41–66.

45. Diego Rodriguez de Lisboa, Lisbon, to Manuel Bautista Perez, Lima, April 11, 1626, AGL, Inq. 16v.

46. Duarte Rodriguez, Cartagena de Indias, to Sebastian Duarte, Lima, January 23, 1630. AGL, Inq. 186v–89r.

47. Settlement of Alonso Nuñez's estate, Santiago de Guatemala, 1617, AGI, Conten. leg. 946 (14), Manuel Bautista Perez, Lima, to Hernando Blas de Pinto, May 25, 1635, AGL, Inq. CdA. 35, fol. 410r; Regarding the *Santa Companhia de dotar orfans e donzelas pobres,* which Bodian clearly shows was key to consolidation of the Portuguese Jewish nation of Amsterdam and the Jewish community of Venice, see Bodian, *Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation,* 47–48, 134–38, 140–41.

48. Duarte Rodríguez, Cartagena de Indias, to Sebastián Duarte, Lima, January 23, *1630,* AGL, Inq. 186v.

49. Margarita Suárez, *Desafíos transatlánticos: Mercaderes, banqueros y el estado en el Perú virreinal, 1600–1700* (Lima, 2001), 80.

50. Manuel Bautista Perez, Lima, to Diego Rodríguez de Lisboa, Seville, n.d.

AGNL, CdA, leg. 35, 408v; Simon Suarez, Antwerp, to Enrique Lorenzo de Castro, Madrid, 1630. AHN, Inq. leg. 247(1), no foliation.

51. "The Center Out There: Pilgrim's Goal," *History of Religions* 12, no. 3 (1973): 191–230.

52. For Potosí, see Teresa Gisbert, *Historia de la vivienda y los conjunto urbanos en Bolivia* (Mexico City, 1991); Moroccan bazaars: Clifford Geertz, "The Bazaar Economy: Information and Search in Peasant Marketing," *Papers and Proceedings of the Ninetieth Annual Meeting of the American Economic Association* 68, no. 2 (1978): 30.

53. Charles Galton Littleton, "Geneva on Threadneedle Street: The French Church of London and Its Congregation, 1560–1625" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1996), 57–60.

54. Quoted in José Toribio Medina, *Historia del Tribunal de Lima* (Santiago de Chile, 1956), 2: 46.

55. Hordes, "The Crypto-Jewish Community of New Spain, 1620–1649: A Collective Biography" (Ph.D. diss., Tulane University, 1980), 117–18.

56. José Enrique Viaña, *Cuando Vibraba la Entraña de Plata: Cronica novelada del siglo XVII* (La Paz, 1948), 12–13.

57. Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *Politica y Hacienda de Felipe IV* (Madrid, 1960), 138.

58. Stuart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," in *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference,* ed. Jonathan Rutherford, 222–27 (London, 1990), 223.

59. Charles R. Boxer, *Salvador de Sá and the Struggle for Brazil and Angola, 1602–1686* (London, 1952), 54, 203.

60. Ibid., 197.

61. Consiglieri Sà Pereira, *A Restauração vista de Espanha: Historias de Portugueses Contadas por Espanhois* (Coimbra, 1933), 119.

62. Moret, *Aspets de la vie marchande à Séville,* 55.

63. For a general overview see, Maureen Flynn, *Sacred Charity: Confraternities and Social Welfare in Spain, 1400 to 1650* (Ithaca, NY, 1986).

64. Pedro Texeira, *Topographia de la Villa de Madrid.* Facsimile of the 1656 plan of Madrid (Madrid, n.d.).

65. Marco Dorta, *Cartagena de Indias: La ciudad y sus monumentos* (Seville, 1951), 74.

66. Relación de causas of Pedro Duarte, October 16th, 1641, in Anna María Splendiani, José Enrique Sánchez Bohóquez, and Emma Cecilia Luque de Salazar, *Cinquenta años de Inquisición en el Tribunal de Cartagena de Indias, 1610–1660* (Santafé de Bogotá, 1997), 3: 39.

67. Moret, *Aspets de la vie marchande,* 54–55.

68. Bosher, "Huguenot Merchants," 93.

69. Ibid., 77, 81.

70. Cottret, *Huguenots in England,* 253, 259.

71. Chappell, "Escape Accounts," 12, 14.

72. Wachtel, *La foi du souvenir,* 107–60; David Gitlitz, *Secrecy and Deceit: The Religion of the Crypto-Jews* (Philadelphia, 1996).

73. Nicolás Broens, *Monarquía y capital mercantil: Felipe IV y las redes comerciales portuguesas (1627–1635)* (Madrid, 1989), 46–48.

74. Rene Millar Corbacho, "Las confiscaciones de la Inquisición de Lima a los comerciantes de origen judío-portugués en la 'Gran Complicidad'de 1635," *Revista de Indias,* no. 43 (1983), app. 2.

75. Cottret, *Huguenots in England,* 266.

76. Raposo, "Don Gabriel da Silva," 50, 60–63.

77. Corbacho, "Organización familiar"; Butel, "Comportements familiaux."

78. Raposo, "Don Gabriel da Silva," 61.

79. "Chapters on Socialism," in *On Liberty and Other Writings,* ed. Stephan Collini (New York, 1989), 252–53.

80. On a comparative note, Avner Greif describes how news of a fraudulent merchant circulated across from Jerusalem to Sicily and effectively barred him from trading with members of the Mediterranean Jewish trading community. See Greif, "Reputation and Coalitions," 868.

81. Andres Rodriguez de Extremoz, Lisbon, to Juan Rodriguez Mesa, Cartagena de Indias, June 23, 1635, AHN, Inq. leg. 4816(1), 11v, 13r.

82. Blas de Paz Pinto, Cartagena de Indias, to Pedro Duarte, Panama, January 24, 1630, AGNL, Inq. 190v.

83. Fernando Serrano Mangas, *La encrujiada portuguesa: Esplendor y quiebra de la unión Iberíca en las Indias de Castilla (1600–1668)* (Badajoz, Spain, 1994), 27–28.

84. Carlos Alvarez Nogal, *El crédito de la monarquía hispánica en el reinado de Felipe IV* (Valladolid, 1997); Felipe Ruiz Martín, *Las finanzas de la monarquía hispánica en tiempos de Felipe IV (1621–1665)* (Madrid, 1990).

85. Antonio Nuñez Gramaxo contra los bienes de Luis Fernández Suárez, 1637, AHN, Inq., 1611, exp 17.

86. Raposo, "Don Gabriel da Silva," 267, 276, 286.

87. Cited in Swetchinski, *Reluctant Cosmopolitans,* 107.

Chapter Six: Sephardic Merchants in the Early Modern Atlantic and Beyond

1. "Los más negros enemigos que puede tener la persona son los de su casa y de los suyos. . . . Y que non hay de fiarse ni de madre. Ni de fijos. Ni de hermanos.

Ni de parientes. Ni de ninguno al mundo." David Attias, *La Guerta de Oro*, fols. 31–31a. Sincere thanks to Matthias Lehmann for sharing his transcription of parts of this text with me. For the importance, background, and implications of *La Guerta de Oro*, see Matthias B. Lehmann, "A Livornese 'Port Jew' and the Sephardim of the Ottoman Empire," *Jewish Social Studies* 11, no.2 (2005): 51–76. Part of the passage quoted here is also cited in ibid., 62.

2. Partha Dasgupta, "Economic Progress and the Idea of Social Capital," in *Social Capital: A Multifaceted Perspective,* ed. Partha Dasgupta and Ismail Serageldin, 325–424 (Washington, DC, 2000), 387–88; Dasgupta, "Social Capital and Economic Performance: Analytics," in *Foundations of Social Capital,* ed. Elinor Ostrom and T. K. Ahn, 309–39 (Cheltenham, UK, 2003). See also Paul Seabright, *The Company of Strangers: A Natural History of Economic Life* (Princeton, NJ, 2004).

3. Niklas Luhmann, *Trust and Power* (Chichester, UK, 1979); Susan P. Shapiro, "The Social Control of Impersonal Trust," *American Journal of Sociology* 93, no. 3 (1987): 623–58; Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Stanford, CA, 1990), 79–111.

4. This comparative approach aims at overcoming the isolation in which each trading diaspora is treated by most scholarship. The space available here prevents me from illustrating more systematically the units and contexts of comparison. For suggestive reflections on the practice of comparative history outside the nation-state framework, see Nancy L. Green, "The Comparative Method and Poststructural Structuralism: New Perspectives for Migration Studies," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 13, no. 4 (1994): 3–24.

5. Titles include Stephen Frederic Dale, *Indian Merchants and Eurasian Trade, 1600–1750* (Cambridge, 1994); Gunnar Dahl, *Trade, Trust, and Networks: Commercial Culture in Late Medieval Italy* (Lund, 1998); Claude Markovits, *The Global World of Indian Merchants, 1750–1947: Traders of Sind from Bukhara to Panama* (Cambridge, 2000); Scott C. Levi, *The Indian Diaspora in Central Asia and its Trade, 1550–1900* (Leiden, 2002); Bertrand Van Ruymbeke and Randy J. Sparks, eds., *Memory and Identity: The Huguenots in France and the Atlantic Diaspora* (Columbia, SC, 2003); Ina Baghdiantz McCabe, Gelina Harlaftis, and Ioanna Pepelasis Minoglou, eds., *Diaspora Entrepreneurial Networks: Four Centuries of History* (Oxford, 2005); Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch, eds., *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden, 2005); Steve Murdoch, *Network North: Scottish Kin, Commercial, and Covert Associations in Northern Europe, 1603–1746* (Leiden, 2006).

6. Abner Cohen, "Cultural Strategies in the Organization of Trading Diasporas," in *The Development of Indigenous Trade and Markets in West Africa*, ed. Claude Meillassoux, 266–81 (Oxford, 1971), 267, 274.

7. Ibid., 274.

8. Philip D. Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History* (New York, 1984). Curtin omitted any treatment of Jewish merchants in his wide-ranging survey. I can only speculate on the reasons for this absence, which could be due to the relatively meager (compared to today) secondary literature available on the subject at the time of this publication or to Curtin's commitment, as an Africanist and a world historian, to privilege groups that normally escape mainstream history.

9. In an oft-quoted essay, Frédéric Mauro writes, "One of the reasons for the success of the Armenians was the atmosphere that prevailed at the heart of this merchant community: a great sense of solidarity based on kinship ties or marriage and on contractual relations, especially relations of trust"; "Merchant Communities, 1350–1750," in *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long-distance Trade in the Early Modern World, 1350–1750,* ed. James D. Tracy, 255–86 (Cambridge, 1990), 273. For an early and sophisticated exception to this tendency, see Benjamin Braude, "Venture and Faith in the Commercial Life of the Ottoman Balkans, 1500–1650," *International History Review* 7, no. 4 (1985): 519–42.

10. J. F. Bosher, "Huguenot Merchants and the Protestant International in the Seventeenth Century," *William and Mary Quarterly* 52, no. 1 (1995): 77–102, at 78.

11. C. A. Bayly, "'Archaic' and 'Modern' Globalization, ca. 1750–1850," in *Globalization in World History,* ed. A. G. Hopkins, 45–72 (New York, 2002), 61.

12. Sushil Chaudhury, "Trading Networks in a Traditional Diaspora: Armenians in India, *c.* 1600–1800," in Baghdiantz McCabe, Harlaftis, and Pepelasis Minoglou, *Diaspora Entrepreneurial Networks,* 51–72, at 66.

13. J. F. Bosher, *Business and Religion in the Age of New France, 1600–1760: Twenty-two Studies* (Toronto, 1994), 7.

14. Stanley Chapman, *Merchant Enterprise in Britain: From the Industrial Revolution to World War I* (Cambridge, 1992), 32 (my emphasis).

15. Yuri Slezkine, *The Jewish Century* (Princeton, NJ, 2004), 1. Slezkine uses "modernity" and "modernization" interchangeably; e.g., ibid., 30.

16. Ibid., 40, 121 (my emphasis).

17. See, among a rich literature, Stuart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," in *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference,* ed. Jonathan Rutherford, 222–37 (London, 1990); James Clifford, "Diasporas," in Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA, 1997), 244–77; Kachig Tölölyan, "Rethinking Diaspora(s): Stateless Power in the Transnational Moment," *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 5, no. 1 (1996): 3–35.

18. Miriam Bodian, *Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation: Conversos and Community in Early Modern Amsterdam* (Bloomington, IN, 1997); Thomas Glick, "On Converso and Marrano Ethnicity," in *Crisis and Creativity in the Sephardic World, 1391–1648,* ed. Benjamin R. Gampel, 59–76 (New York, 1997); Yosef Kaplan, *An Alternative Path to Modernity: The Sephardi Diaspora in Western Europe* (Leiden, 2000); Daniel M. Swetschinski, *Reluctant Cosmopolitans: The Portuguese Jews of Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam* (London, 2000); Steven Nadler, *Rembrandt's Jews* (Chicago, 2003).

19. Oliver E. Williamson, "Calculativeness, Trust, and Economic Organization," *Journal of Law and Economics* 36, nos. 1–2 (1993): 453–86, at 463.

20. See, e.g., the reappraisal of Williamson's theory in Timothy Guinnane, "Trust: A Concept Too Many," *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 1 (2005): 77–92. The new institutional economic history is inspired to approaches outlined in Oliver E. Williamson, *The Economic Institutions of Capitalism: Firms, Markets, Relational Contracting* (New York, 1985), and Douglass C. North, *Institutions, Institutional Change, and Economic Performance* (Cambridge, 1990).

21. Avner Greif, *Institutions and the Path to the Modern Economy: Lessons from Medieval Trade* (Cambridge, 2006).

22. The literature on trust is vast. For reasons of space, I sacrificed a discussion of the extent to which the concept of "social capital" overlaps that of trust. A basic bibliography from the social sciences includes Luhmann, *Trust and Power*; Robert D. Putnam, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton, 1993); Francis Fukuyama, *Trust: Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity* (New York, 1995); Diego Gambetta, ed., *Trust: Making and Breaking Cooperative Relations* (Oxford, 1998); Karen S. Cook, ed., *Trust in Society* (New York, 2001); Russell Hardin, *Trust and Trustworthiness* (New York, 2002); Roderick M. Kramer and Karen S. Cook, eds., *Trust and Distrust in Organizations: Dilemmas and Approaches* (New York, 2004); Russell Hardin, ed., *Distrust* (New York, 2004); Karen S. Cook, Russell Hardin, and Margaret Levi, *Cooperation without Trust* (New York, 2005); Bo Rothstein, *Social Traps and the Problem of Trust* (New York, 2005); Charles Tilly, *Trust and Rule* (New York, 2005).

23. Unless otherwise noted, the ideas in the following paragraphs are inspired mostly, though not exclusively, by Hardin's theory of "encapsulated interest" (Hardin, *Trust and Trustworthiness*); Niklas Luhmann, "Familiarity, Confidence, Trust: Problems and Alternatives," in Gambetta, *Trust,* 94–107; Partha Dasgupta, "Trust as a Commodity," in ibid., 49–72; Edna Ullmann-Margalit, "Trust, Distrust, and In Between," in Hardin, *Distrust,* 60–82. For a recent refutation of the role of religion as the basis of trust, see Richard Sosis, "Does Religion Pro-

mote Trust? The Role of Signaling, Reputation, and Punishment," *Interdisciplinary Journal of Research on Religion* 1 (2005): 1–30.

24. Markovits, *The Global World,* 261.

25. David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735–1785* (Cambridge, 1995), 56; Hancock, "The Trouble with Networks: Managing the Scots' Early-Modern Madeira Trade," *Business History Review* 79, no.3 (2005): 467–91, at 481–82.

26. Francesca Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven, CT, 2009), chaps. 6 and 10.

27. Influential and troubling culturalist formulations in Carlo M. Cipolla, *Clocks and Culture, 1300–1700* (London, 1967); David Landes, *The Wealth and Poverty of Nations: Why Some Are So Rich and Some So Poor* (New York, 1998); Lawrence E. Harrison and Samuel P. Huntington, eds., *Culture Matters: How Values Shape Human Progress* (New York, 2000).

28. Among the many definitions of culture that exist, I here follow Mark Granovetter's: "culture is not a once-for-all influence but an ongoing process, continuously constructed and reconstructed during interaction. It not only shapes its members but also is shaped by them, in part for their own strategic reasons." Mark Granovetter, "Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness," *American Journal of Sociology* 91, no. 3 (1985): 485–510, at 486.

29. Dasgupta, "Economic Progress," 333, 376.

30. Jonathan I. Israel, *Diasporas within a Diaspora: Jews, Crypto-Jews, and the World Maritime Empires, 1540–1740* (Leiden, 2002), 453–54; David S. Katz, *The Jews in the History of England, 1485–1850* (Oxford, 1994), 171.

31. Sebouh Aslanian, "Social Capital, Trust, and the Role of Networks in Julfan Trade: Informal and Semi-Formal Institutions at Work," *Journal of Global History* 1, no. 3 (2007): 383–402, at 391–92.

32. Umberto Santarelli, *Mercanti e società tra mercanti,* 3rd ed. (Turin, 1998), 66–67; Thelma Fenster and Daniel Lord Smail, eds., *Fama: The Politics of Talk and Reputation in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, NY, 2003); Giacomo Todeschini, "'Infamia' e 'defensio fidei' fra XI e XII secolo," in *Ovidio Capitani: Quaranta anni per la storia medioevale,* ed. Maria Consiglia De Matteis, 2 vols (Bologna, 2003), 1: 127–39. The first Armenian legal code, which dates from the late twelfth century, included the punishment of anathema against any merchants who committed deceit in commerce, for example, cheating by giving a false oath; Robert W. Thomson, ed., *The Lawcode [Datastanagirk] of Mixt'ar Goš* (Amsterdam, 2000), 233–34.

33. M. Sprunger, "Faillissementen: Een aspect van geestelijke tucht bij de Wa-

terlands-doopsgezinde gemeente te Amsterdam in de zeventiende eeuw," *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen* 17 (1991): 101–30.

34. Jacob M. Price, "The Great Quaker Business Families of Eighteenth-Century London: The Rise and Fall of a Sectarian Patriciate," in *The World of William Penn,* ed. Richard S. Dunn and Mary Maples Dunn, 363–99 (Philadelphia, 1986), 386. See also Julian Hoppit, *Risk and Failure in English Business, 1700–1800* (Cambridge, 1987), 31.

35. Kaplan, *An Alternative Path,* 108–95. Kaplan (164–65) finds that excommunication bans were infrequent in London. There too, however, in the 1680s and '90s the *parnassim* punished commercial practices and speculations that created public prejudice, such as speculations on currency exchanges or rising insurance policies on political contingencies; Cecil Roth, *A History of the Jews in England,* 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1964), 188. The 1655 statutes of the Jewish community of Livorno threatened to excommunicate those found guilty of some commercial malpractices, including the obstruction of loading of ship cargoes and moneylending to ship captains; Renzo Toaff, *La nazione ebrea a Livorno e Pisa (1591–1700)* (Florence, 1990), 562, 568.

36. A novel by David Liss (*The Coffee Trader* [New York, 2003]) offers a vivid and accurate portrait of the extent and effects of communitarian control over the commercial practices of Sephardic merchants in seventeenth-century Amsterdam. In a summa of Jewish precepts and rituals compiled for those New Christians who were joining the Sephardic congregation in Amsterdam and elsewhere, Menasseh ben Israel cast a moral punishment over those who cheated in the value, weight, or measure of a sale—whether their buyer was a coreligionist (*companheyro*) or a gentile; Menasseh ben Israel, *Thesouro dos Dinim, que o povo de Israel he obrigado saber e observer* (Amsterdam, 1645–47), 128–29 (chap. 13: *De vendas e compras*).

37. On the changing positions of Jews in early modern European states and societies, see Jonathan I. Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism, 1550–1750,* 3rd ed. (London, 1998).

38. Markovits, *The Global World,* 249, passim.

39. Israel, *Diasporas within a Diaspora.*

40. Most of *La Guerta de Oro* is written as a series of letters "by a friend in the North to a friend of his in the East about Europe." Here "North" stands for what today we would call "West," while to Attias's readers, the West meant Morocco; Lehmann, "A Livornese 'Port Jew,'" 65, 75n63.

41. Sebouh Aslanian, *From the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean: Circulation and the Global Trade Networks of Armenian Merchants from New Julfa, 1605–1748* (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2007), 343–50.

42. Frederick B. Tolles, *Quakers and the Atlantic Culture* (New York, 1960),

29; Rebecca Larson, *Daughters of Light: Quaker Women Preaching and Prophesying in the Colonies and Abroad, 1700–1775* (New York, 1999); Bernard Bailyn, *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours* (Cambridge, MA, 2005), 97–98.

43. Markovits, *The Global World,* 25, 265–76.

44. See Daniel M. Swetschinski, "Kinship and Commerce: The Foundation of Portuguese Jewish Life in Seventeenth-Century Holland," *Studia Rosenthaliana* 15 (1981): 52–74; Miriam Bodian, "The 'Portuguese' Dowry Societies in Venice and in Amsterdam: A Case Study in Communal Differentiation within the Marrano Diaspora," *Italia* 6 (1987): 30–61; Jessica V. Roitman, "Marriage, Migration, and Money: The *Santa Companhia de dotar orphãs e donzelas pobres* in the Portuguese Sephardic Diaspora," *Portuguese Studies Review* 13.1–2 (2005): 347–67.

45. Trivellato, *Familiarity of Strangers,* chap. 5.

46. Jonathan Israel, "Diasporas Jewish and non-Jewish and the World Maritime Empires," in Baghdiantz McCabe, Harlaftis, and Pepelasis Minoglou, *Diaspora Entrepreneurial Networks,* 3–26, at 5.

47. Ina Baghdiantz McCabe, "Global Trading Ambitions in Diaspora: The Armenians and Their Eurasian Silk Trade, 1530–1750," in ibid., 27–48, at 29.

48. C. D. Tékéian, "Marseille, la Provence et les Arméniens," *Mémoires de l'Institut Historique de Provence* 6 (1929): 5–65, at 54–55.

49. Israel, *Diasporas within a Diaspora,* 126–50.

50. Paul Butel, *Les négociants bordelais, l'Europe et les Iles au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1974), esp. 194–211; Siliva Marzagalli, "Atlantic Trade and Sephardim Merchants in Eighteenth-Century France: The Case of Bordeaux," in *The Jews and the Expansion of Europe to the West, 1450 to 1800,* ed. Paolo Bernardini and Norman Fiering, 268–86 (New York, 2001).

51. Jonathan I. Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade, 1585–1740* (Oxford, 1989), 156–70, 236–40; Israel, *Diasporas within a Diaspora,* 511–32.

52. Jacob M. Price, *Perry of London: A Family and a Firm on the Seaborne Frontier, 1615–1753* (Cambridge, 1992); Hancock, *Citizens of the World.*

53. Klaus Weber, "The Hamburg Sephardic Community in the Context of the Atlantic Economy," in *Coming and Going: The Role of Hamburg in the Religious, Social, Economic and Cultural Sefardic Network,* ed. Michael Studemund-Halévy (Hamburg, forthcoming).

54. Tolles, *Quakers,* 24; Jon Butler, *The Huguenots in America: A Refugee People in New World Society* (Cambridge, MA, 1983), 47.

55. Marzagalli, "Atlantic Trade," 275.

56. Wim Klooster, "Communities of Port Jews and their Contacts in the Dutch Atlantic World," *Jewish History,* 20, no. 2 (2006): 129–45, at 136.

57. Wilfred S. Samuel, "A List of Jewish Persons Endenizened and Natu-

ralised 1609–1799," *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* 22 (1968–69): 111–44; Katz, *The Jews in the History of England,* 145–72; Harold Pollins, *Economic History of the Jews in England* (London, 1982), 44–45; Holly Snyder, "Rules, Rights, and Redemption: The Negotiation of Jewish Status in British Atlantic Port Towns, 1740–1831," *Jewish History* 20, no. 2 (2006): 147–70, and her essay in this volume.

58. In the British Barbados, for example, from 1674 to 1786 Jews were not allowed to use courts for personal lawsuits, except in criminal cases, although they were admitted to give testimonies in all courts in cases "relating to Trade and Dealing, and not otherwise"; Sheldon J. Godfrey and Judith G. Godfrey, *Search Out the Land: The Jews and the Growth of Equality in British Colonial America, 1740–1867* (Montreal, 1995), 41.

59. Snyder, "Rules, Rights, and Redemption." Her research counterbalances studies of the eighteenth-century London stock market, in which "there is *no indication* that Jewish property rights were any less secure than those of other English property owners"; Bruce C. Carruthers, *City of Capital: Politics and Markets in the English Financial Revolution* (Princeton, NJ, 1996), 193 (emphasis in the original).

60. Gedalia Yogev, *Diamonds and Coral: Anglo-Dutch Jews and Eighteenth-Century Trade* (Leicester, 1978).

61. Chapman, *Merchant Enterprise in Britain,* 31.

62. Ian K. Steele, *The English Atlantic, 1675–1740: An Exploration of Communication and Community* (New York, 1986), esp. 113–88, 213–28; Kenneth Morgan, "Business Networks in the British Export Trade to North America, 1750–1800," in *The Early Modern Atlantic Economy,* ed. John J. McCusker and Kenneth Morgan, 36–62 (Cambridge, 2000); John J. McCusker, "The Demise of Distance: The Business Press and the Origins of the Information Revolution in the Early Modern Atlantic World," *American Historical Review* 110, no. 2 (2005): 295–321.

63. Maria Fusaro, "Les Anglais et les Grecs: Un réseau de coopération commercial en Méditerranée vénitienne," *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 58, no. 3 (2003): 605–25; Fusaro, "Coping with Transition: Greek Merchants and Shipowners between Venice and England in the Late Sixteenth Century," in Baghdiantz McCabe, Harlaftis, and Pepelasis Minoglou, *Diaspora Entrepreneurial Networks,* 95–123.

64. R. C. Nash, "Huguenot Merchants and the Development of South Carolina's Slave-Plantation and Atlantic Trading Economy, 1680–1775," in Van Ruymbeke and Sparks, *Memory and Identity,* 209–40, at 217.

65. Markovits, *The Global World,* 177–78.

66. Ibid., 26.

67. Hancock, *Citizens of the World,* 83–84.

68. Trivellato, *Familiarity of Strangers,* chap. 5.

69. Gelina Harlaftis, *A History of Greek-Owned Shipping: The Making of an International Tramp Fleet, 1830 to the Present Day* (London, 1996); Ioanna Pepelasis Minoglou, "Toward a Typology of Greek-Diaspora Entrepreneurship," in Baghdiantz McCabe, Harlaftis, and Pepelasis Minoglou, *Diaspora Entrepreneurial Networks,* 173–89, at 178–81.

70. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society,* 1: 169–92. Originated in early Islamic law, *commenda* was a nearly universal type of contract in the medieval business world. It came in many versions, but it normally stipulated the shares of profits between a sedentary investor and a traveling partner for the conduct of a specific business transaction in a distant place, and it entailed limited responsibility for both parties.

71. Levon Khachikian, "The Ledger of the Merchant Hovhannes Joughayetsi," *Journal of the Asiatic Society* 8, no. 3 (1966): 153–86; Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade,* 193–96; Edmund M. Herzig, *The Armenian Merchants of New Julfa, Isfahan: A Study in Pre-Modern Asian Trade* (Ph.D. diss., Oxford University, 1991), 213–26; Aslanian, "Social Capital," 389–90.

72. Markovits, *The Global World,* 157–66.

73. Dale, *Indian Merchants,* 66, 120.

74. Pepelasis Minoglou, "Toward a Typology," 179–80, and her "Ethnic Minority Groups in International Banking: Greek Diaspora Bankers of Constantinople and Ottoman State Finances, c. 1840–81," *Financial History Review* 9, no. 2 (2002): 125–46.

75. Jewish law recognized the validity of verbal agreements for certain types of contracts, including dowries and business partnerships; see s.v. "Contract" and "Partnership" in Elon Menachem, ed., *The Principles of Jewish Law* (Jerusalem, 1974), cols. 247, 276.

76. For Livorno, see my discussion of *accomandite* contracts registered in Tuscany between 1445 and 1757, in Trivellato, *Familiarity of Strangers,* chap. 5. For Amsterdam, see Cátia Antunes, *Globalisation in the Early Modern Period: The Economic Relationship between Amsterdam and Lisbon, 1640–1705* (Amsterdam, 2004), 134, 136. Antunes is currently completing a broader study of contractual commercial obligations between Jews and non-Jews in early modern Amsterdam.

77. Jacob Price and Paul G. E. Clemens, "A Revolution of Scale in Overseas Trade: British Firms in the Chesapeake Trade, 1675–1775," *Journal of Economic History* 47, no. 1 (1987): 1–43.

78. Aslanian, "Social Capital," 389–401.

79. Francesca Trivellato, "Juifs de Livourne, Italiens de Lisbonne et hindous

de Goa: réseaux marchands et échanges interculturels à l'époque moderne," *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 58, no. 3 (2003): 581–603.

80. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Introduction," in *Merchant Networks in the Early Modern World,* ed. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, xiii–xiv (Brookfield, VT, 1996), xiv–xv.

81. On the redundancy of "trading diaspora" as a category that can be explained by "the general characteristics of human behaviour" (i.e., economic rationality), see K. N. Chaudhuri, *Trade and Civilization in the Indian Ocean: An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750* (Cambridge, 1985), 224–26. On Williamson's dismissal of "trust," see his "Calculativeness."

82. On the contiguity of social and economic meaning of terms such as "commerce," "credit," "honor," and "trust" in most European languages, see Anthony Pagden, "The Destruction of Trust and Its Economic Consequences in the Case of Eighteenth-Century Naples," in Gambetta, *Trust,* 127–41, at 130, and Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (New York, 1998).

83. Walter W. Powell, "Neither Market nor Hierarchy: Network Forms of Organization," *Research in Organizational Behavior* 12 (1990): 295–336, at 300. Even Greif retains the word *trust* on some occasions; Greif, *Institutions,* 59, 63.

84. On the value of a network approach to the study of trading diasporas, see Markovits, *The Global World,* and Trivellato, "Juifs de Livourne."

85. Edgar Samuel, *At the End of the Earth: Essays on the History of the Jews of England and Portugal* (London, 2004), 251.

Chapter Seven: Jews and New Christians in Dutch Brazil, 1630–1654

This essay is a condensed and revised version of a chapter of my book *Inquisition, juifs et nouveaux-chrétiens au Brésil: Le Nordeste XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Leuven, 2003). I wish to thank Philip Morgan and Richard Kagan for inviting me to participate in this volume, as well as Neil Safier and Michael Sommers for their precious help.

1. José Antônio Gonsalves de Mello, *Gente da Nação: Cristãos-novos e judeus em Pernambuco, 1542–1654* (Recife, 1996), 218–21, 230. I. S. Emmanuel advances the foundation moment to 1633–34 in "New Light on Early American Jewry," *American Jewish Archives* 7 (1955): 5.

2. See Wim Klooster's essay in this volume.

3. Any Portuguese with any part of Jewish blood (all four grandparents or only one of them), regardless of their religious faith or behavior, was considered a New Christian, as opposed to the unsullied Old Christian.

4. Manoel Calado, *O Valeroso Lucideno, e Triumpho da Liberdade* (Lisbon, 1648), 131.

5. On the Ashkenazi in Pernambuco, see de Mello, *Gente da Nação,* 245–47, and Günter Böhm, *Los sefaradíes en los dominios holandeses de América del Sur y del Caribe (1630–1750)* (Frankfurt am Main, 1992), 69–71. The definitive edition of the Brazilian *"livro das atas,"* with a facsimile reproduction is that of rabbi Y. David Weitman, *Bandeirantes espirituais do Brasil: Rabinos Isaac Aboab da Fonseca e Mosseh Rephael d'Aguilar* (São Paulo, 2003). An English version also exists: Arnold Wiznitzer, *The Records of the Earliest Jewish Community in the New World* (New York, 1954). See also Miriam Bodian, *Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation: Conversos and Community in Early Modern Amsterdam* (Indianapolis, IN, 1997).

6. In exclusively Catholic Portugal any person with Jewish ancestry, regardless of their religious belief, was considered New Christian (the so-called *Conversos* in Spain). Judaizers were those who secretly practiced Jewish rites, despite the risks of being arrested by the Inquisition. Until not long ago, historians used *Marrano* (a pejorative early modern way to refer to judaizers) to designate New Christians and judaizers, without distinction. Nowadays this term has a philosophical connotation and is used to refer to a religious, national, or cultural feeling of nonadaptation and nonadherence, inspired by the New Christian experience. See Edgar Morin, *Mes démons* (Paris, 1994), and Anita Novinsky, "Um novo conceito de marranismo," in *Comunicações apresentadas no I Colóquio Internacional sobre o Património Judaico Português,* ed. M. H. C. dos Santos, M. G. Bachmann, and R. Bachmann, 31–38 (Lisbon, 1996).

7. The synagogue occupied "a big two story house, by the riverside, giving onto the *rua dos Judeus*. . . . It is solidly built and holds two stores by the ground floor." See de Mello, *Gente da Nação,* 230. The building no longer exists, but a commemorative plaque shows the place, nowadays a cultural center that holds the Historical Jewish Archives of Pernambuco, the archaeological remains of the synagogue's *mikvé,* and a conjectural replica of the prayer room.

8. Emmanuel, "New Light," 27–28; de Mello, *Gente da Nação,* 230–31. See also Arnold Wiznitzer, *Os Judeus no Brasil Colonial* (São Paulo, 1966), 115ff.

9. Actually, after the revolt against the Dutch erupted in 1645, the Pernambuco community got into financial difficulties, even having to mortgage Recife synagogue's building. For more detail of the wrangle, see Emmanuel, "New Light," 24–34.

10. *Apud* de Mello, *Gente da Nação,* 231.

11. For Penedo, see de Mello, *Gente da Nação,* 231. For Itamaracá, see Daniel Levi de Barrios, *Hes Jaim Arbol de las Vidas del Kahal Kados Amstelodamo* [Amsterdam], 5443 [1683], 87: "*Jacob Lagarto* Jaxam/en el Brasil se presenta,/al

Pueblo de Tamarica/y en la Corte Zelandesa . . . Cathalogo Universal/es su Quaderno, que *Tienda/de Jacob* intitulado/Aphorismos empapela."

12. De Mello, *Gente da Nação,* 251n52.

13. Isaac de Castro, born to a Portuguese New Christian family in southern France, was eventually burned alive at the stake in Lisbon after the auto-da-fé of December 15, 1647, proclaiming the name of God. His martyrdom had an immense repercussion throughout the Portuguese Jewish diaspora. See Elias Lipiner, *Izaque da Castro, o mancebo que veio preso do Brasil* (Recife, 1992), and for the precise information cited here, 37n6, 156–57, 281.

14. Arquivos NacionaisTorre do Tombo (hereafter AN/TT), Inquisição de Lisboa (hereafter IL), liv. 220, fols. 416v–17v, liv. 230, fol. 267v, liv. 235, fol. 66.

15. The Amsterdamese Askamot, as well as those of its "daughter" communities (Recife, New Amsterdam, London, etc.) were written following the pre-expulsion (1492–97) Portuguese and Spanish tradition, the agreements of the Venice and Salonika communities working as a bridge. Unfortunately, the latter were not preserved. Arnold Wiznitzer, "The Merger Agreement and Regulations of Congregation Talmud Torah of Amsterdam (1638–39)," *Historia Judaica* 19 (1957): 111, 117, 124.

16. The London community stressed that point, affirming that any conflict with the goyim would "disturb the liberty we enjoy and make us unwanted." All disputation was forbiden for those reasons, but also because "we are not obliged [by our law] to do so." Lionel D. Barnett, *El libro de los acuerdos, Being the Records and Accompts of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue of London from 1663 to 1681* (Oxford, 1931), 11 (art. 31).

17. The London community agreements used the terms *pelegrino* and *mujer pelegrina,* which referred to every person (also Jews) not making part of "our Nation, Portuguese and Spaniards." Barnett, *El libro de los acuerdos,* 11 (art. 32).

18. See Benzion Netanyahu, *Marranos of Spain, from the Late 14th to the Early 16th Century, according to Contemporary Hebrew Sources* (Ithaca, NY, 1999), and N. Roth, "Jewish Conversos in Medieval Spain: Some Misconceptions and New Information," in *Marginated Groups in Spanish and Portuguese History,* ed. W. D. Phillips Jr. and C. R. Phillips, 23–52 (Minneapolis, 1989).

19. Yosef Kaplan, "The Portuguese Jews in Amsterdam: From Forced Conversion to a Return to Judaism," *Studia Rosenthaliana* 15 (1981): 39.

20. Ibid.; Kaplan, *From Christianity to Judaism: The Story of Isaac Orobio de Castro* (Oxford, 1989), 308 ff.; Kaplan, "Exclusion et auto-identité," in Kaplan, *Les nouveaux-juifs d'Amsterdam: Essais sur l'histoire sociale et intellectuelle du judaïsme séfarade au XVIIe siècle* (Paris, 1999), 61–86, and Bodian, *Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation,* chap. 4 and passim.

21. Bodian, *Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation,* 113, 134. Even if we do not

know the names of benefactors in Brazil, or about the maidens from Pernambuco having participated in the annual drawing of the *Companhia,* we know the *Companhia* had its own local branch since 1639. Moisés Navarro was its first "administrator and representative." Assuming that its representatives were also the *Companhia*'s benefactors, at least eight men living in Pernambuco (including Navarro) financially participated in its activities: David Senior Coronel, Jacob Drago, Benjamin Serfaty, Ishac Joseph de Solis, Michael Cardoso, Isaac Athias, and Ishac Coronel. Emmanuel, "New Light," 34–35.

22. For Amsterdam, see Bodian, *Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation,* 81.

23. There were, however, exceptions to that rule, applied to people burned at the stake without forswearing Judaism. See, e.g., Cecil Roth, "Abraham Nuñez Bernal et autres martyrs contemporains de l'Inquisition," *Revue des Etudes Juives* 100 bis (1936): 38–51.

24. Alexander Altmann, "Eternality of Punishment: A Theological Controversy within the Amsterdam Rabbinate in the Thirties of the Seventeenth Century," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 40 (1972): 1–88. About the Jewish mysticism (the Kabala), see, among other works by Gerchom Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (1946; New York, 1995).

25. Mayer Kayzerling quotes another work—*De la coligacion de los 13 Articulos de la Fè,* feito pelo H. H. R. Yshac Aboab, no Brasil 5396 [1636]—in his *Bibliotheca Española-Portugueza-Judaica* (Strasbourg, 1890), 4–5, but in that year Aboab was still in Amsterdam. I couldn't find other references to that work. The Hebrew texts were published and translated into Portuguese: Weitman, *Bandeirantes espirituais do Brasil.*

26. Isaac Aboab da Fonseca, *Parafrasis comentado sobre el Pentateuco* (Amsterdam, 5441 [1681]), 562.

27. Uriel da Costa (1585–1640) was the first of a series of materialistic or deistic Portuguese Jews who wrote against Judaism at large or specifically against the rabbi's doctrines, being for that expelled from the Amsterdamese and Hamburg's communities. After him would come Juan de Prado (1612–69), and finally Baruch Spinoza (1632–77). See I. S. Révah, *Spinoza et Juan de Prado* (Paris, 1959); Gabriel Albiac, *La sinagoga vacía: un estudio de las fuentes marranas del espinosismo* (Madrid, 1987), or Yirmiahu Yovel, *Spinoza and Other Heretics: The Marrano of Reason* (Princeton, NJ, 1989).

28. The use of the plural is as interesting slip and might indicate that Aguilar's discourse, in this case, is more rhetoric than connected to his personal beliefs. Bibliotheek Ets Haim, Amsterdam, 48 A 1, 429–30.

29. Ibid., 426.

30. Kaplan, "The Portuguese Jews." Isaac Orobio de Castro was one of the pre-eminent intellectual figures of the Sephardi diaspora. He disputed against

Juan de Prado in defense of rabbinic Judaism; see n. 27, above, and Kaplan, *From Christianity to Judaism.*

31. Bodian, *Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation,* 131.

32. Edouard Will and Claude Orrieux, *"Prosélytisme juif"? Histoire d'une erreur* (Paris, 1992), 180–84, and Alain Boureau, *L'evénement sans fin: Récit et christianisme au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1993).

33. Among others, see Roque Monteiro Paym, *Perfidia Iudaica, Christus Vindex Munus Principis: Ecclesia Lusitania ab apostatis liberata. Discurso Iuridico è Politico . . .* (Madrid, 1671). See also Bruno Feitler, "Produção literária antijudaica no mundo português da idade moderna: Uma tentativa de análise (sécs. XVI–XVIII)," *Novos Estudos Cebrap* 72 (August 2005): 137–58.

34. Will and Orrieux, *"Prosélytisme juif,"?* 180. See also Anette Pales-Gobilliard, "L'Inquisition et les juifs: Le cas de Jacques Fournier," *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 12 (1977): 97–114.

35. AN/TT, IL, pc. 11562, confession of February 4, 1649. José Antônio Gonsalves de Mello does not give credit to Pedro de Almeida's story (*Gente da Nação,* 500), even if it is related on the same basis by the *licenciado* Alexandre do Couto during the enquiry lead by Pernambuco's general vicar in Várzea in 1648. AN/TT, IL, liv. 235, fols. 69–69v. See also Lipiner, *Izaque de Castro,* 172–73.

36. AN/TT, IL, pc. 7533, confession of May 27, 1647. For Pedro de Almeida and Simão de Leão's kinship, see ibid., confession of May 19, 1650.

37. Ibid., confession of February 4, 1649.

38. AN/TT, IL, pc. 7533, confession of May 27, 1647. Remarkably, what drew the attention of Manoel Gomes Chacão in the argumentation of the Jews of Recife was that the Law of Moses was still in force. This idea was always present in the controversies between Jews and Christians, and the idea that the law would finally be abrogated at the Messiah's arrival was an important trope in the thinking of the Sabbateists, of whom Isaac Aboab da Fonseca was an enthusiastic representative. This is a tropical glimpse of the Sephardic Dutch community's predisposition to receive the messianic movement. See Gershom Scholem, *Sabbataï Tsevi, le messie mystique* (Lagrasse, 1983), 318–23, 506–10. On the problem of the eternity of the law, see Yosef Haim Yerushalmi, *De la cour d'Espagne au Ghetto Italien* (Paris, 1987), 310–12, 387ff.

39. AN/TT, IL, pc. 7533.

40. See de Mello, *Gente da Nação.*

41. AN/TT, IL, liv. 230, fols. 267, 275v. Gaspar Rodrigues, whose Jewish name was Abraão Querido, was born in Portugal, where he worked as a confectioner in Lisbon. Having passed by Pernambuco before the conquest and the inquisitorial gauntlet, he settled in Amsterdam, declaring himself openly as a Jew and actively participating in the local community's life. In 1636 he was already in

Recife, taking part in the slave trade and maintaining a shop. It is possible that this information relates to two people, father and son. De Mello, *Gente da Nação,* 380, 430–31, and Egon Wolff and Frida Wolff, *Dicionário Biográfico,* vol. 1, *Judaizantes e Judeus no Brasil, 1500–1808* (Rio de Janeiro, 1986), 163–64.

42. AN/TT, IL, liv. 230, fol. 275v.

43. Ibid., fol. 273v.

44. Calado, *O Valeroso Lucideno,* 54.

45. Ibid., 170.

46. See Eduardo d'Oliveira França, "Um problema: a traição dos cristãos-novos em 1624," *Revista de História* 41 (1970), 21–71; Anita Novinsky, "A Historical Bias: The New-Christian Collaboration with the Dutch Invaders of Brazil (17th Century)," in *The Fifth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem, 1972), 2: 141–54; Stuart Schwartz, "When Brazil Was Jewish: New Sources on the Fall of Bahia, 1624, in the Context of Portugal's Political and Social Conditions in the Seventeenth Century," in *Pour l'histoire du Brésil: mélanges offerts à K. de Queirós Mattoso,* ed. F. Crouzet, D. Rolland, and P. Bonnichon, 245–60 (Paris, 2000).

47. AN/TT, IL, liv. 217, fols. 522–24v.

48. Vincent Joachim Soler, preacher of the French Calvinist Church of Recife, native of Valencia in Spain, echoes this generalization in a letter from around 1638, in which he evokes the fear of a Spanish reconquest, this time as the cause of communication difficulties: "Most of the native Portuguese are Jews or New-Christians, that is, brothers and sisters of Jews. The others are Papists. On the last, I have already written saying that they are now beginning to [be] more submissive, for at the start of my time here they were so stubborn that they would not speak to us. They are now friendly and no longer refuse to hear preaching. The fear they have of an Invincible Fleet with which the Spanish constantly threaten them makes them too scared to show themselves. They say that Spain is a great monarchy, which is true, but it is like a body whose members are separated. It must be added that all the Portuguese have vices and wallow much more in all sins than can be imagined, although they are now a little more reserved as the Dutch punish them rigorously, though not according to their crimes." This letter was translated from French to Dutch and published as *Cort ende Sonderlingh Verhael van eenen Brief van Monsieur Soler . . .* (Amsterdam, 1639). The English translation (from Dutch) can be found in Benjamin N. Teensma, ed., *Dutch Brazil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1997), 1: 38–49.

49. See the revealing case of the Portuguese community of I. S. Révah, "Autobiographie d'un marrane: Édition partielle d'un monuscript de João (Moseh) Pinto Delgado," *Revue des Études Juives* 119 (1961): 58–65.

50. AN/TT, IL, liv. 217, fol. 519.

51. Ibid., fol. 519v.

52. AN/TT, IL, liv. 230, fol. 273.

53. Ibid., fol. 274.

54. Ibid., fols. 272–72v.

55. Ibid., fols. 274v–75.

56. Wiznitzer, *Os Judeus no Brasil Colonial,* 115, 125; de Mello, *Gente da Nação,* 356–57; Böhm, *Los sefaradies,* 94–95; Silva, "Zur Israel, uma comunidade judaica," 186–87.

57. Calado, *O Valeroso Lucideno,* 187. Calado composed his work on the third person, referring to himself as Father Manoel.

58. AN/TT, IL, pc. 11550, *apud* José Antônio Gonsalves de Mello, *Frei Manuel Calado do Salvador: Religioso da ordem da São Paulo, pregador apostólico por Sua Santidade, Cronista da* Restauração (Recife, 1974), 47.

59. AN/TT, IL, pc. 7276, confessions of April 20 and May 4, 5, and 7, 1646. See also de Mello, *Gente da Nação,* 487, and Lipiner, *Izaque de Castro,* 236–37.

60. AN/TT, IL, pc. 7276, report of February 25, 1646, and the letter of the *auditor geral da gente de guerra e ouvidor de todos os povos da Capitania* [of Pernambuco], the *licenciado* Domingo Ferrás de Sousa, of January 1645.

61. Ibid., quoted confessions and conviction of July 24, 1646.

62. Ibid., *parecer* of the inquisitor general bishop Francisco de Castro of March 4, 1648. Miguel spoke French, Dutch, Italian, and Latin (ibid., geanealogy session of May 14, 1646).

63. He explained that some years after their "return," a relative from India of Castile informed his father they were related to a certain Coen, "from where they concluded being descendants of Aram by the masculine side, and thus priests, and in consequence be intitled Coen." AN/TT, IL, pc. 7820, confession of January 18, 1661.

64. The Inquisition had jurisdiction only over baptized persons. Unbaptized persons would simply be expelled from Portugal without any kind of judgment, unless they had done something against the Catholic faith.

65. AN/TT, IL, pc. 7820, confessions of January 17 and 18, 1661, and ibid., letter of October 8, 1660.

66. Ibid., confession of January 18, 1661.

67. AN/TT, IL, liv. 254, fol. 363. Miguel Francês says that he was from Abrantes. AN/TT, IL, pc. 7276, confession of May 7, 1646.

68. AN/TT, IL, liv. 254, fol. 363.

69. Ibid.; AN/TT, IL, pc. 11562, confession of February 5, 1649, and liv. 254, fols. 355–65.

70. AN/TT, IL, liv. 254, fols. 348–50.

71. Ibid., fols. 383–88; fol. 363.

72. Ibid., fol. 386.

73. Ibid., fol. 350.

74. Ibid., fols. 348, 350, and de Mello, *Gente da Nação,* 471.

75. AN/TT, IL, liv. 254., fols. 354–54v, 383–88.

76. AN/TT, IL, liv. 254, fol. 358v, and also pc. 7820, confession of January 18, 1661 (Pedro Luís). AN/TT, IL, liv. 254, fols. 365–68 (João da Fonseca) and fol. 364, and Evaldo Cabral de Mello, *Olinda Restaurada: Guerra e Açúcar no Nordeste, 1630–1654* (São Paulo, 1975), 119–21 (Estevão Dias).

77. AN/TT, IL, liv. 254, fol. 357v.

78. AN/TT, IL, pc.11562, confession of February 5, 1649.

79. AN/TT, IL, pc. 7820.

80. "Instrucção ao Embaixador o Conde do Prado, 1 de maio de 1669," in *Corpo Diplomático Português,* ed. J. C. de Freitas Moniz (Lisbon, 1910), vol. 14, *Relações com a Cúria Romana,* 55.

81. See n. 27.

82. Calado, *O Valeroso Lucideno,* 31.

83. AN/TT, IL, liv. 220, fols. 4v–5, fols. 68–69.

84. AN/TT, IL, pc. 7533, confession of May 27, 1647.

85. AN/TT, IL, pc. 11562, confession of February 4, 1649.

Chapter Eight: A Matriarchal Matter

All translations from the French, Hebrew, Portuguese, and Sranan Tongo, except where noted, are mine. I thank Wim Klooster for his assistance with the Dutch translations and symposium participants for their suggestions and corrections.

1. Given the wording of the petition, Pelegrino obviously produced these children outside of Dutch marital law, but perhaps according to Jewish law. Surinamese Jews had obtained a special privilege in the 1650s to arrange their own marriages under the jurisdiction of their religious leaders. After 1703, however, Dutch law required Jewish marriage contracts be approved by Dutch officials and registered with the state archives. On the repeal of exclusive autonomy in Jewish marital laws, see Ralph G. Bennett, "The Blacks and Jews of Surinam," *African Notes: Bulletin of the Institute of African Studies* (University of Ibadan) 17, nos. 1–2 (1993): 69; "Some Further Notes on the Jews in Surinam," *Proceedings of the American Jewish Historical Society* 16 (1907); and Jacob Rader Marcus, *The Colonial American Jew, 1492–1776,* 3 vols. (Detroit, 1970), 1: 154.

2. Nationaal Archief, The Hague, Netherlands (hereafter NAN), Oud Archief Suriname, pp. 83–87, request of Joseph Pelegrino to Governor General Johan Coetier [Jean Coutier], Paramaribo, July 17, 1720.

3. Given the petition's lack of references to Pelegrino's racial status, one might assume he was of "pure" Sephardic ancestry. Elsewhere, however, Pelegrino's son Jacob is classified as a *karboeger* (i.e., a child of a mulatto and a black) and his grandson Daniel Pelegrino, as a *negro*. I thank Jean Jacques Vrij for this information. A Joseph Pelegrino appears in Suriname as early as the seventeenth century, but his racial status is not specified; NAN, Nederlandse Portugees Israëlitische Gemeente in Suriname (hereafter NPIGS), no. 25, Bijlagen tot de notulen van mahamad en Junta [Appendices of the minutes of the Mahamad and Junta], "Mem das promesas que Prometeraõ os Sres nomeados Abaixo" [Memorandum of pledges promised by the below-mentioned people], 1690.

4. Frits Eduard Mangal Mitrasing, *Suriname, Land of Seven Peoples: Social Mobility in a Plural Society—An Ethno-Historical Study* (Paramaribo, 1979). Conventionally, the seven peoples are understood to be Native Americans, maroons, Creoles, Europeans, Javanese, Hindustanis, and Chinese. In reality, the diversity is even greater, encompassing various Native American groups, six maroon tribes, and recent immigrants from Lebanon, Guyana, Haiti, and Brazil. French Guiana, roughly half the size of Suriname, is an overseas department rather than an independent nation. This and much of the following paragraph are largely drawn from Aviva Ben-Ur, "Still Life: Sephardi, Ashkenazi, and West African Art and Form in Suriname's Jewish Cemeteries," *American Jewish History* 92, no. 1 (2004): 31–79.

5. Robert Cohen, "Surinam Jews under British Rule: A Contemporary's Report," *Michael* 10 (1986): 41.

6. These data are derived by the author from Cornelis Ch. Goslinga, *The Dutch in the Caribbean and in the Guianas, 1680–1791* (Assen, 1985), 279, 291, 309, 341, 519.

7. A 1738 census counted 598 free coloreds and 2,133 whites. Around 1770, there were 3,000 free persons (mostly whites), compared to 60,000 slaves in the colony. By 1787, there were 650 free men and women of color. By 1812, that number had jumped to 3,075, and in 1830 to 5,051. In 1863, there were 36,000 slaves, while the free population had sextupled. Alex van Stipriaan, "An Unusual Parallel: Jews and Africans in Suriname in the Seventeenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *Studia Rosenthaliana* 31, nos. 1–2 (1997): 79; R. A. J. van Lier, *Frontier Society: A Social Analysis of the History of Surinam* (The Hague, 1971), 8, 97, and for figures showing the preponderance of female manumissions, 100.

8. The figure of 232 Jews (including 105 men, 58 women, and 69 children, presumably mostly settled along the Suriname River) is from a census conducted by the Society of Suriname in 1684 and cited in Victor Enthoven, "Suriname and Zeeland: Fifteen Years of Dutch Misery on the Wild Coast, 1667–1682," in *International Conference on Shipping, Factories, and Colonization*, ed. J. Everaert

and J. M. Parmentier (Brussels, 1996), 255. Enthoven states that 1,158 individuals resided in Jodensavanne in 1684, with Africans outnumbering Jews 6 to 1. Statistics for slaves do not reflect natural increase, but rather constant replenishment by "saltwater slaves." Comparable figures for Suriname's European and enslaved populations are provided in Johannes Menne Postma, *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1600–1815* (Cambridge, 1990), 185.

9. Goslinga, *The Dutch in the Caribbean and in the Guianas,* 358 ("Surinam marriage"); van Lier, *Frontier Society,* 78 ("marriage Surinam-style"). For statistics see Wim Hoogbergen, *"De Bosnegers zijn gekomen!": Slavernij en rebellie in Suriname* (Amsterdam, 1992), and Claudia Schnurmann, *Atlantische Welten: Englènder und Niederlènder im amerikanisch-atlantischen Raum, 1648–1713* (Cologne, 1998), 382.

10. Van Lier, *Frontier Society,* 74.

11. "Em Este kaal ay huma escama feita no ano 5423 que Prohibe a cual quer Jahid so pena de herem a circonsidar os filhos do que se despidue de Jahid. Esta escama que foy feita com Prudencia pelos Primeiros fundadadores deste kaal (adterorem)." Gemeentearchief, Amsterdam (hereafter GAA), no. 334, fol. 1029, Stukken betreffende gemeenten te Amsterdam, Curaçao, Suriname en Constantinopel, 1650–1798 [Pieces concerning the communities of Amsterdam, Curaçao, Suriname, and Constantinople, 1650–1798], pp. 428–29. The earliest known definitions of *jahid* and *congregante* in Suriname's Sephardic community are provided in NAN, NPIGS, no. 99, Minuut-Askamoth voor de gemeente B.V.S. 1748 [Minutes-Askamot for Congregation Beraha VeSalom, 1748], tractate 26. Cf. Jonathan Schorsch, *Jews and Blacks in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge, 2004), 252, 463n228, who dates this tractate, recorded in another document, to 1665.

12. A. T. van Deursen, *Plain Lives in a Golden Age: Popular Culture, Religion and Society in Seventeenth-Century Holland* (Cambridge, 1991), 262. Rabbinical law does distinguish in some respects between born Jews and converts, for example, forbidding a Cohen (a male descendant of a Temple priest) from marrying a convert. But Suriname's Jewish laws rendered even a *born* Jew intransigently inferior if he was a *kleurling,* or colored. Compare the attitudes of Judah Halevi (Spain, eleventh-twelfth centuries) toward converts to Judaism in Isaak Heinemann, commentator, *The Kuzari,* in *Three Jewish Philosophers: Philo, Saadya Gaon, Jehuda Halevi* (New York, 1981), 35–37.

13. NAN, NPIGS, no. 99, Ascamot, tractate 26, art. 3, 1748. This tractate subsequently reappears in 1754 and 1784. NAN, NPIGS, no. 101, Askamot, 1754, and Aanwinsten, Jaar: 1929–XIV–1, 1551, Ascamot Velha em Portugees y em Hollandez Ao 1784. Compare A. G. van der Østen's proposed legislation of 1785, never implemented, which would have allowed remote descendants of

blacks who maintained white ancestry "in an unbroken line" to be declared as whites. See Neville A. T. Hall, *Slave Society in the Danish West Indies: St. Thomas, St. John, and St. Croix,* ed. B. W. Higman (Baltimore, 1992), 153.

14. In contrast, Sephardic Jews marrying Askhenazi men *or* women would be demoted to congregant status by at least 1789. Fragment van een concept-vertaling in het Nederlands van de Askamoth [Fragment of a draft translation in Dutch from the Askamot], no.111, chap. 1, art. 2, 1789. *"Tanto homen como mulheres"* appears in superscript over the words *"Todo Jahid."* This insertion suggests an increase in the incidence of Sephardi women marrying Ashkenazim. Unions with *Ashkenaziot* are first mentioned in the 1754 version of the Askamot. NAN, NPIGS, no. 101, Askamot, 1754, tractate 26, art. 5: "Tambem os que cazarem com tudescas, seraó logo despedidos de Jehidim, e reduzidos ao gremio de Congregantes."

15. The explanation for this double standard is from Hall, *Slave Society in the Danish West Indies,* 153.

16. Goslinga, *The Dutch in the Caribbean and in the Guianas,* 359; H. Hoetink, *De gespleten samenleving in het Caraibisch gebied* (Assen, 1962), 71; J. S. Schiltkamp, J. Th. De Smidt, and T. van der Lee, eds., *West Indisch Plakaatboek, Suriname* (Amsterdam, 1973), 1: 277 (*plakaat* 240).

17. Goslinga, *The Dutch in the Caribbean and in the Guianas,* 359. This was probably Ganna Levy Hartog, expelled from the colony on January 25, 1731, "for having had sex with an Indian slave"; Bennett, "The Blacks and Jews of Surinam," 70, citing NAN, NPIGS, no. 527, where I did not find the document in question. Sexual liaisons between white women and slaves were also rare in the Cape, but they were not as severely punished as in Suriname. Robert Carl-Heinz Shell, *Children of Bondage: A Social History of the Slave Society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652–1838* (Hanover, NH, 1994), 316–20.

18. Philippe Fermin, a physician who spent many years in Suriname, maintained that a white woman having "commerce" with a black man was "rare," but *"pas sans exemple";* Fermin, *Description générale, historique, géographique et physique de la colonie de Surinam,* 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1769), 1: 121. John Gabriel Stedman, a Scottish militiaman who spent four years in Suriname in the 1770s, noted: "Should it ever be known that a female European had kept a carnal intercourse with a slave of whatever denomination" she is "detested," and the slave "loses his life without mercy. Such is the despotic law of men in Dutch Guiana, if not in the whole world, over the weaker species." Richard Price and Sally Price, eds., *Stedman's Surinam: Life in an Eighteenth-Century Slave Society* (Baltimore, 1992), 133.

19. Eurafrican Jewesses would have also automatically passed on their Jewish status to their children, regardless of the father's identity. By at least the 1780s,

Sephardic bylaws explicitly disregarded whether or not Sephardi ancestry was transmitted via the father or the mother, accepting as *congregantes* all colored progeny "who carry the name of, or are known to be descended of the Portuguese or Spanish Nation." Robert Cohen, *Jews in Another Environment: Surinam in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden, 1991), 162, citing 1787 Ascamoth, tractate 1, art. 3, par. 12.

20. Susan Sorek, "Mothers of Israel: Why the Rabbis Adopted a Matrilineal Principle," *Women in Judaism: A Multidisciplinary Journal* 3, no. 1 (2002).

21. The imposition of patrilineal descent on children produced in concubinage was not uncommon in medieval Jewish communities of both Europe and the Maghreb. Avraham Grossman, *Pious and Rebellious: Jewish Women in Medieval Europe* (Hanover, NH, 2004), 137–38. In North America's frontier societies Jewish men sometimes raised their halakhically gentile children as Jews (children who were not Jewish according to Jewish law). The children of Samson Levy (Philadelphia) and Michael Judah (Connecticut), both of whom intermarried, were ritually circumcised in the eighteenth century. Marcus, *Colonial American Jew,* 3: 1228–29.

22. Christian white colonies also replicated biblical slavery laws. Examples appear in "Bermuda's Inter-Colonial Diaspora, 1625–1675," chapter 3 of Michael Joseph Jarvis's book manuscript, based on his dissertation, "'In the Eye of All Trade': Maritime Revolution and the Transformation of Bermudian Society, 1612–1800" (Ph.D. diss., College of William and Mary, 1998). I thank him for sharing this manuscript chapter.

23. The translation is from *The Holy Scriptures,* ed. Harold Fisch (Jerusalem, 1989), 16.

24. Abraham and Solomon Levy Maduro, eds., *Sefer Berit Yitshak* (Amsterdam, 5528 [1767–68]), 16. This is apparently a reprint of the 1729 edition, cited in Moritz Steinschneider, *Catalogus Librorum Hebraerum in bibliotheca Bodleiana jussu curatorum digessit et notis instruxit M. Steinschneider* (Berlin, 1931), entry 3222.

25. Copies consulted for this article are located at the John Carter Brown Library in Providence, Rhode Island, and the Bibliotheek Ets Hayim, Amsterdam. Many other versions of this prayer book exist, bearing the same title, but they do not reference slaves. See, e.g., *Sefer Berith Itschak,* ed. Solomon Levy Maduro (Amsterdam, 5525 [1764–65]), at the Bibliotheek Ets Hayim, and the 1729 edition of the same title, held at the Yale University library.

26. Michael Studemund-Halévy, *Biographisches Lexikon der Hamburger Sefarden: Die Grabinschriften des Portugiesenfriedhofs an der Königstrasse in Hamburg-Altona* (Hamburg, 2000), 665.

27. His argument may not be sound, as the Hebrew word "*eved*" often ap-

pears in vernacular translations as "servant." See, e.g., Fisch, *The Holy Scriptures,* 24; John G. Fee, *An Anti-Slavery Manual: The Wrongs of American Slavery Exposed by Light of the Bible and of Facts, with A Remedy for the Evil,* 2nd ed. (New York, 1851), 19–20. The religious manuals Studemund-Halévy discusses were useful to Amsterdam's Sephardic community, where African-origin slaves served Jewish masters (including one man who bequeathed several female slaves to his wife in 1752). Although this ownership of humans contradicted laws in London, Amsterdam, and Hamburg, it nevertheless continued. Studemund-Halévy, *Biographisches Lexikon,* 666–67.

28. These texts definitively refute scholarly assumptions that black slavery did not exist in early modern northwestern Europe. For refutations of these assumptions, see Alison Blakely, *Blacks in the Dutch World: The Evolution of Racial Imagery in a Modern Society* (Bloomington, IN, 1993), 225–26, and, more extensively, Schorsch, *Jews and Blacks in the Early Modern World.*

29. Schiltkamp, De Smidt, and van der Lee, *West Indisch Plakaatboek, Suriname,* 1: 412. Among Europeans, the Dutch "may well have been the least interested in efforts to educate and Christianize the Africa population"; Postma, *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade,* 70–71. See also Humphrey E. Lamur, "Slave Religion on the Vossenburg Plantation (Suriname) and Missionaries' Reactions," in *Caribbean Slave Society and Economy: A Student Reader,* ed. Hilary Beckles and Verene Shepherd (Kingston, Jamaica, 1991), 287–94. Another scholar argues that until the 1820s, Dutch colonial planters preferred that their slaves maintain their pagan religions, which of course provided the former with another justification for enslavement. Gert Oostindie, "The Enlightenment, Christianity, and the Suriname Slave," *Journal of Caribbean History* 26 (1992): 154–55. By contrast, the Code Noir of 1685 made baptism of slaves obligatory in the French colonies. In Jamaica, slaves solicited baptism beginning in the late eighteenth century and used this to lord it over "saltwater slaves" (those born in Africa), making Africans themselves eager for baptism. Richard D. E. Burton, "Names and Naming in Afro-Caribbean Cultures," *New West Indian Guide* 73, nos. 1–2 (1999): 45.

30. One Dutch eyewitness noted during his sojourn in 1680s Suriname that although most slaves had no religion, "various among them had been baptized" (*verscheyden onder haar Gedoopt zijn*). Adriaan van Berkel, *Amerikaansche Voyagien, behelzende een Reis na Rio de Berbice, gelegen op het vaste Land van Guiana, aande wilde-kust van America, mitsgaders een andere na de Colonie van Suriname, gelegen in het noorder deel van het gemelde landschap Guiana* (Amsterdam, 1695), 126.

31. Van Lier, *Frontier Society,* 73.

32. NAN, Aanwinsten, no. 1666, David Cohen Nassy, "Memoire sur les

Moyens d'ameliorer la colonie de Surinam," Philadelphia, 1795, 61. Nassy had heard the story from a number of "reliable" people who knew Palmer personally and were "enchanted with the order with which he ruled his plantation."

33. Goslinga, *The Dutch in the Caribbean and in the Guianas,* 370–71.

34. Jacques Arends, "The History of Surinamese Creoles I: A Sociohistorical Survey," in *Atlas of the Languages of Suriname,* ed. Eithne B. Carlin and Jacques Arends (Leiden, 2002), 126–27.

35. GAA 334, fol. 1304, Askamot, 5409.

36. GAA, no. 334, fol. 1029, Stukken betreffende gemeenten te Amsterdam, Curaìao, Suriname en Constantinopel, 1650–1798, p. 438. The reason for the demotion of such *jehidim* is not specified. Assuming that the demotion was imposed because these *jehidim* had married free Eurafrican Jewesses, the child would have been both free and automatically Jewish. Thus, it is possible that withholding circumcision privileges from the children born of such relations was a harsh measure to discourage white Jews from wedding Eurafrican Jewesses. The other alternative, that these *jehidim* had been demoted for having sexual relations with their gentile slaves, is unlikely, as there are no ordinances prohibiting such contact.

37. NAN, NPIGS, no. 99, Askamot, 1748, tractate 26.

38. In accordance with social conventions of the time, da Costa never explicitly disclosed his identity as the father. Were one to question Isaac da Costa's status as the father of these slave children, one would still be obligated to explain how they, born of negresses, obtained their European ancestry, and why their master was so much more generous to them than to his own wife and nephews. In the analysis of similar wills and manumission decrees drafted by gentiles, Caribbean historians have generally assumed the paternity of the white slave owner. See, e.g., Hall, *Slave Society in the Danish West Indies,* 141; Arlette Gautier, *Les soeurs de solitude: La condition feminine dans l'esclavage aux Antilles du XVIIe au XIX siécle* (Paris, 1985), 170; Géraud Lafleur, *Saint-Claude: Histoire d'une commune de Guadeloupe* (Paris, 1993), 75. *Muleca* or *moleca* is translated as "a young black girl" and a "young Negro girl, maid in the Big House," in Gilberto Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves [Casa-Grande and Senzala],* trans. Samuel Putnam (New York, 1978), 326, 492. Given her racial designation, Aquariba may not have been Isaac's daughter.

39. See Hall, *Slave Society in the Danish West Indies,* 141.

40. Ibid., 143. Hall notes that by the early nineteenth century manumitted men and women were owners of two-thirds of the enslaved persons living in the towns of the Danish West Indies.

41. NAN, Oud Notarieel Archief, Suriname, will of Isaac da Costa, November 8, 1725, fol. 13, pp. 245–47.

42. NAN, NPIGS, no. 418, Alfabetische staat van overledenen over 1777–1812 [Alphabetical record of deaths for 1777–1812]. Place and date of entries of *congregantes* and *congregantas* are as follows: p. 2 (Cupij plantation, 1789) p. 24 (Savana, 1820); p. 31 (Cupij plantation, 1792); p. 43 (Savana, 1815); p. 57 (Savana, 1814); p. 59 (Savana, 1791); p. 65 (Savana, 1816); p. 67 (Savana, 1793); p. 69 (Savana, 1797); p. 72 (Savana, 1811).

43. By 1791, 29 percent of the colony's Sephardim lived in Paramaribo (250 Sephardim dwelled on plantations, while 620 lived in the capital city). Goslinga, *The Dutch in the Caribbean and in the Guianas,* 309.

44. Jewish mulattoes formed a brotherhood (*Siva*) called the Path of the Righteous (*Darhe Jesarim*) as well as a separate prayer house. These separate institutions were not only sanctioned by white Jews but also founded with the financial support of both Sephardim and Ashkenazim. Cohen, *Jews in Another Environment,* 164–66; van Lier, *Frontier Society,* 81; J. Wolbers, *Geschiedenis van Suriname* (Amsterdam, 1861), 256; Willem F. L. Buschkens, *The Family System of the Paramaribo Creoles* (The Hague, 1974), 70; Goslinga, *The Dutch in the Caribbean and in the Guianas,* 366. The fissure that split the Sephardic community in 1790, first studied by the late Robert Cohen, was perhaps the first major rebellion against Jewish congregant status. NA, Oud Arch. Sur. Gouvernements secretaries, no. 528; Cohen, *Jews in Another Environment,* 163–74.

45. NAN, NPIGS, no. 423, Register van begravenen op de kerkhoven van de Savanne, 1777–1833 [Register of graves in the cemetery of the Savanna, 1777–1833], p. 1.

46. Ibid., no. 418, Registro Mortuorio [Death Register], p. 49.

47. N. H. Swellengrebel and E. van der Kuyp, *Health of White Settlers in Surinam* (Amsterdam, 1940), 31.

48. NAN, NPIGS, no. 417, Registro de Notaìão de Nacimentos [Birth Register], p. 24.

49. On similar uses of godparenthood, see Jon F. Sensbach, *A Separate Canaan: The Making of an Afro-Moravian World in North Carolina, 1763–1840* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1998), 140–43, and Frances P. Karner, *The Sephardics of Curaìao* (Assen, 1969), 24.

50. NAN, NPIGS, no. 418, Registro Mortuorio [Death Register], p.113. She died on June 8, 1822 (19 Sivan 5582).

51. Ibid., no. 13, Minuut-notulen van vergaderingen van de Senhores de Mahamad (Parnassijns) en van de Junta (Parnassijns en ouderlingen) [Minutes of meetings of the Gentlemen of the Mahamad (Parnassim) and of the Junta (Parnassim and elderly), November 4, 1832.

52. Ibid., no. 10, p. 4.

53. Ibid., no. 417, p. 63.

54. The "urgent obligation of circumcision" infused him with a "*muevo espiritu.*" Abraham Gabay Izidro, Sermon predicado neste K.K. de T.T. por Ribi Abraham Gabay Izidro. En Sabat Vaikrà en R.H. Nisàn del Año 5484 En Amsterdam (Amsterdam, 1724), 9; Cecil Roth, "The Remarkable Career of Haham Abraham Gabay Izidro," *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* 24 (1974).

55. R. Beeldsnijder, *De geboorteregisters der Portugees-Israelitische gemeente in Suriname 1777–1866* (n.p., 2001), 6, without archival attribution.

56. NAN, NPIGS, no. 13, Minuut-notulen van vergaderingen van de Senhores de Mahamad (Parnassijns) en van de Junta (Parnassijns en ouderlingen) [Minutes of meetings of the Gentlemen of the Mahamad (Parnassim) and of the Junta (Parnassim and elderly), November 4, 1832.

57. Baptismal certificate written by Moses Jona, Paramaribo, September 30, 1832 (6 Tisry 5593), 345. Unfortunately, the convert's age was left blank.

58. *Sefer Berit Itshak* (1764–65; Amsterdam, 1803–4), housed in the synagogue archives of Congregation Mikvé Israel-Emmanuel in Curaçao. While bereft of a list of ritual circumcisers, this volume does include the slave conversion ceremony.

59. The distinctions between various combinations of racial mixture were formalized in a 1781 resolution by the Council of Policy and Criminal Justice. Cohen, *Jews in Another Environment,* 162, 306n41; Rosemary Brana-Shute, "The Manumission of Slaves in Suriname, 1760–1828" (Ph.D. diss., University of Florida, 1985), xvi–ii, 227.

60. According to Christian law, a married man who has sexual relations with someone other than his wife is guilty of adultery, and all children born out of wedlock are considered bastards. In Judaism, by contrast, a Jewish man is not guilty unless the Jewish woman he has relations with is married to another Jewish man. In such a case, the resulting offspring would be classified as a bastard (*mamzer*) according to Jewish law. However, a child born to a single Jewish woman is not classified as a bastard.

61. The Jewish leaders here demonstrate their foresight by imposing a sum intended to prevent the infant from falling into poverty.

62. NAN, NPIGS, no. 117, Pieces concerning the newly designed regulations for the Dutch Portuguese Israelitic Head synagogue in Suriname, 1829–48, art. 1.

63. Luiz C. Barbosa, "Manumission in Brazil and Surinam: The Role of Dutch Hegemony and Decline in the Capitalist World-Economy," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 10, no. 3 (1987): 357.

64. Brana-Shute, "The Manumission of Slaves in Suriname, 1760–1828," 223. See also Okke ten Hove and Frank Dragtenstein, *Manumissies in Suriname, 1832–1863* (Utrecht, 1997).

65. NAN, NPIGS, no. 14, Vergadering van Parnassims, March 11, 1841.

66. Ibid., March 21, 1841.

67. Ibid., June 28, 1840.

68. Ibid., no.13, June 28, 1840.

69. Wim Klooster, "Between Habsburg Neglect and Bourbon Assertiveness: Hispano-Dutch Relations in the New World, 1650–1750," in *España y los diecisiete Paises Bajos, siglos XVI–XVIII: Una revisión historiográfica,* ed. Ana Crespo Solana and Manuel Herrero Sánchez (Cordova, 2002), 703–18; Linda M. Rupert, "Trading Globally, Speaking Locally," *Jewish Culture and History* 7, nos. 1–2 (2004). The Creole language of the ABC islands is variably spelled with a final *u* or a final *o*. See Roger William Andersen, "Nativization and Hispanization in the Papiamentu of Curaçao, Netherlands Antilles: A Sociolinguistic Study of Variation" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1974), and Jossy Mansur, *Dictionary: English-Papiamento, Papiamento-English* (Oranjestad, Aruba, 1991). Aruba's creole language, though mutually comprehensible to creole speakers of Curaçao and Bonaire, maintains a distinctive spelling, based on etymology (or perceived etymology) rather than phonetics. This is because Arubans claim that their creole and their ancestry are "derived more from Native Americans and less from Africans," likely a prestige claim emphasizing free as opposed to enslaved ancestors. The ABC islands formed the Komishon Standarisashon di Papiamentu (KSP) in 1984. Alan F. Benjamin, *Jews of the Dutch Caribbean: Exploring Ethnic Identity on Curaçao* (London, 2002), 82.

70. J. D. Oppenheim, "Jewish Customs among the Suriname (Dutch Guyana) Population," *Edoth* 3, nos. 1–2 (1947–48).

71. David Cohen Nassy, *Essai historique sur la colonie de Surinam* (Paramaribo, 1788), 2: 60. Nassy's contemporary, John Gabriel Stedman, who arrived in the colony in 1773 for a four-year sojourn, expressed a more positive view of the language as "so sweet and sonorous that even among the genteelest European companies, nothing else is spoken in Surinam. It is also extremely expressive and sentimental." Price and Price, *Stedman's Surinam,* 261.

72. NAN, NPIGS, no. 467, Trial pieces re: debts receivables of the Gemilut Hasadim Brotherhood. The interchange underscores the record keepers' convention of not explicitly identifying Eurafrican Jews as children of their presumably white fathers. (Note that Fernandes referred to the female as "a mulatto," while she identified herself as her father's daughter.)

73. Arends, "The History of Surinamese Creoles I," 123.

74. See, e.g., Sylvia R. Frey and Betty Wood, *Come Shouting to Zion: African American Protestantism in the American South and British Caribbean to 1830* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1998).

75. See, e.g., Beeldsnijder, *De geboorteregisters,* 5.

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1. Peter Mark and José da Silva Horta, "Two Early Seventeenth-Century Sephardic Communities on Senegal's Petite Côte," *History in Africa* 31 (2004): 231–56; Mark and Horta, "Judeus e Muçulmanos na *Petite Côte* senegalesa do início do século XVII: Iconoclastia anti-católica, aproximação religiosa, parceria comercial," *Cadernos de Estudos Sefarditas* 5 (2005): 29–51; Mark and Horta, "Duas comunidades sefarditas na costa norte do Senegal no início do século XVII: Porto de Ale e Joala," in *Inquisição Portuguesa: Tempo, Razão e Circunstância,* ed. Luís Filipe Barreto et al. (Lisbon, 2007), 277–304. See also Filipa Ribeiro da Silva, "A Inquisição em Cabo Verde, Guiné e S. Tomé e Príncipe (1536–1821): Contributo para o estudo da política do Santo Ofício nos territórios africanos" (master's thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2002); the author published a brief mention of the Petite Côte communities: da Silva, "A Inquisição na Guiné, nas ilhas de Cabo Verde e São Tomé e Príncipe," *Revista Lusófona de Ciência das Religiões* 3, nos. 5/6 (2004): 165, 167. See António Mendes, "Le rôle de l'Inquisition en Guinée, vicissitudes des présences juives sur la Petite Côte (XVe–XVIIe siècles)," ibid., 137–55. See Tobias Green, "Further Considerations on the Sephardim of the Petite Côte," *History in Africa* 32 (2005): 165–83. The author's doctoral dissertation was completed after our paper had been and only became available to us as the article was going to press. See Tobias Green, "Masters of Difference: Creolization and the Jewish Presence in Cabo Verde, 1472–1672" (Ph.D. diss., University of Birmingham, 2006). Rufisque, located on the same coast, also housed a Jewish community as late as 1647; this community, too, appears to have been linked to Amsterdam. See N. I. de Moraes, "Le commerce des peaux à la Petite Côte au XVIIe siècle (Sénégal)," *Notes Africaines* 34 (April 1972): 39–40.

2. Some New Christians who were already in West Africa traveled to Amsterdam to reconvert as a result of contact with Jews who arrived directly from Holland.

3. On the demography of these communities, see Mark and Horta, "Duas comunidades," 288–92.

4. In Portuguese Inquisition sources the word *rabi* is frequently used to name an important person among the judaizers, particularly the one who led their clan-

destine cult and who taught Jewish law; see Elias Lipiner, *Terror e linguagem: Um dicionário da Santa Inquisição* (Lisbon, 1998), 32–33. We use here *rabbi* in Kaplan's broad concept: *"l'authorité spirituelle dans les communautés juives,"* either formal or informal. See Yosef Kaplan, *Les nouveaux-juifs d'Amsterdam: Essais sur l'histoire sociale et intellectuelle du judaïsme séfarade au XVIIe siècle* (Paris, 1999), 249. Although Jacob Peregrino was a trader and might not have received the formal title "rabbi" in Amsterdam, he was undoubtedly sent to Guinea to be the spiritual guide and teacher of the newly born Jewish communities and was locally accepted as such (see Mark and Horta, "Two Early Seventeenth-Century Sephardic Communities," 240–42). Trade and religious proselytizing were inseparable in his mission. For a different view of the role of the Amsterdam community in Peregrino's travel to Guinea, see Green, "Further Considerations," passim.

5. Freire worked with Diogo Nunes Belmonte (Jacob Israel Belmonte) and Diogo Dias Querido (David Querido). See National Archives, Torre do Tombo (hereafter AN/TT), Inquisição de Lisboa (hereafter IL), liv. 209, fols. 382–82v, liv. 59, fols. 130–30v. See also AN/TT, IL, liv. 209, fols. 382–82v, liv. 59, fols. 130–30v. On religious conversion of New Christians to Judaism, see also David Franco Mendes and Joaquim Mendes dos Remédios, *Os Judeus Portugueses em Amesterdão* (facsimile of 1911 and 1975 eds.; Lisbon, 1990), 11. See also see Arnold Wiznitzer, *Os Judeus no Brasil Colonial* (São Paulo, 1966), 38–40 (English ed., 1960], 39–40, who also considers Querido a founding father of the Bet Jacob congregation.

6. See Green, "Further Considerations," 169–70.

7. See the description of ships that had arrived on the Guinea coast from the Netherlands in 1612 in "Memoria, e relação do resgate que fazem francezes, ingrezes, e framengos na costa de Guiné a saber do rio de Sanaga atee Serra Leoa": Biblioteca da Ajuda (Lisbon), cód. 51-VI-54, no. 38, fls. 145–47, fol. 147.

8. AN/TT, IL, liv. 202, fol. 643, liv. 203, fols. 515–16. The sources are a *relação* and a denunciation, both made in Lisbon by João Cansuel, Flemish, born in Antwerp.

9. MSS ca. 1607–8 from Sebastião Fernandes Cação, untitled [Relacion de todo el distrito de Guinea y gouierno de Caboberde]: Biblioteca da Ajuda (Lisbon), cód. 51-IX-25, fol. 87–90v [Madrid, n.d.], fol. 87v. "En este puerto dali ay una aldea de cien vecinos portuguesses y negros. A este puerto vinieron de Flandes gente que professa la ley de Moyssen y acen all[i] y guardan sus ritos y cerimonias como los de Judea y los portuguesses quiriendo matarlos y echarlos de alli corieron mucho riesgo porque acudio el Rey y les dijo que su tiera era feria donde

podia auitar todo genero de jente y que nadie se descompassiese en ella que les mandaria cortar las cabeças; que la guera si la querian la hiciessen en la mar y no en su tiera que ya dicho que era feria." This passage was first published in Mark and Horta, "Two Early Seventeenth-Century Sephardic Communities," 233.

10. See Jonathan Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism* (London, 1998), 19; see also Israel, *Diaspora within a Diaspora: Jews, Crypto-Jews, and the World Maritime Empires (1540–1740)* (Leiden, 2002), 12. On the Morocco experience, see José A. R. da Silva Tavim, *Os Judeus na expansão portuguesa em Marrocos durante o século XVI: Origens e actividades de uma comunidade* (Braga, 1997). On the Jews of Fez see Tavim, "'Subir a Fez' durante o século XVI: Contribuição para o estudo de um 'mellah,'" in *Os Judeus Sefarditas entre Portugal, Espanha e Marroccos,* ed. Carmen Ballesteros and Mery Ruah (Évora, 1998), 87–117. See also Nicole Serfaty, *Les courtisans juifs des sultans marocains XIIIe–XVIIIe siècles* (Saint-Denis, 1999).

11. Although the Inquisition was never formally established in the Cape Verde Islands, the inhabitants, as well as Portuguese settled at Cacheu (in northern present-day Guiné-Bissau), could ask for *visitadores.*

12. We wish to express our gratitude to Labelle Prussin for sharing with us the results of her as yet unpublished research on Jewish traders and artisans in the Sahara and the "sahel" from the Middle Ages through the early modern period. Preliminary results of this research have been presented to the Triennial Conference of Arts Council African Studies Association, Cambridge, April 2, 2004, in a paper entitled "Judaic Threads in the West African Tapestry, 'no more forever?'" A revised version was published in *Art Bulletin* 88, no. 2 (2006).

13. We wish to thank Ralph Austen for his commentary on the question of possible *dhimma* status for Jewish traders in the Sahara.

14. AN/TT, IL, liv. 205, fol. 580: "E dizião que elles erão os que conhesião a Deos e que nos eramos idolatras que adoravamos paos e pedras" (testimony of António Vaz Piloto).

15. Ibid., fol. 585: "Por sua boqua muitas blasfemeas chamando-nos aos cristãos de gentios e que adoravamos paos e pedras."

16. "Se sabem que estes Judeus dizem blasfemeas e haeresias diante dos catholicos e fieis de Jesus Christo e se dizem que adoramos paos e pedras e que somos idolatras," ibid., fols. 579v–80 (August 7, 1612).

17. The Portuguese "Guiné do Cabo Verde" refers to the West African coast from approximately the location of the Senegal River to Sierra Leone.

18. AN/TT, IL, liv. 205, fol. 581: Gaspar Carneiro: (witness) "Muitas vezes dizião estes judeos muitas blasfemeas publicamente contra o sancto nome de Cristo a que os catholicos não podião resistir por ser terra de negros gentios."

19. About these legations, see Mark and Horta, "Two Early Seventeenth-Century Sephardic Communities," 234, and Mendes, "Le rôle de l'Inquisition en Guinée," 151–52. The extant documents describe two missions, one to the king of Lambaia (Baol) and the other to the Bûr Síín (king of Sine), both in 1612.

20. Jean Boulègue, *Les Luso-Africains de la Sénégambie (XVIe–XIXe siècles)* (Lisbon, 1989), 23, passim; see also N. I. de Moraes, "Le commerce de tissus à la Petite Côte au XVIIe siècle," *Bulletin de l'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire,* no. 139 (July 1973), 73.

21. In pre-nineteenth century Casamance, traveling merchants were given a special knife, which served as an emblem of safe conduct. With this symbol, they could pass unmolested between two communities that were themselves at war. Peter Mark, field notes, Casamance, Senegal, 1975.

22. AN/TT, IL, liv. 205ff. 583v–84: "Indo ele testemunha ter con o rei pera efeito de os prender estando os ditos judeus prezentes, aniquilando-os elle testemunha e dizendo ao rei que lhos entregasse pera que o seu porto ficasse bon e consertado elles diserão ao rei que nos os cathólicos eramos gentios e adoravamos en pedras e en paos e que lhes queriamos mal porque elles segião o caminho de Mussa que en lingoa dos negros he Moises e sabe mais que se mostrarão ao rei fanados e circoncidados; como elle dito rei e mais gente negra."

23. Ibid., e.g., fol. 586v.

24. See Elias Lipiner, *Terror e linguagem,* 120–22.

25. AN/TT, IL, liv. 203, fol. 465: "Ide pedir dinheiro a vossos parentes q'eu nam sou obrigado a dar vos cousa algũa e todos os christãos velhos procedem de um cão, e adorão a paos e a pedras, e arrastarão a Christo e o entregarão aos judeus os quaes o acabarão de matar eu sou tido e descendente de Jacob, que he mais honrado que todos vossos parentes."

26. Ibid., liv. 209, fol. 382v, 1620, Salvador de Bahia, Confession of Manuel Homem de Carvalho.

27. "Que se fez Judeu que averá sete annos pouco mais ou menos, queimara hũa imagem que tinha e era de vulto de Nossa Senhora do Rosairo cõ Minino Jesu nos braços per crer que se não devião venerar e ter as imagens semelhantes." Ibid, fol. 382.

28. From the perspective of some Catholics, burning the image was tantamount to a physical assault on the Virgin herself.

29. Marco Antonio Nunes da Silva, "Cripto-Judaísmo em Portugal seiscentista," *Cadernos de Estudos Sefarditas* no. 3 (2003), 263: "Destruir a cruz é, para o cristão-novo, destruir para si . . . o que ela representa . . . a fé que oprime e mata."

30. See Horta, "A Inquisição em Angola e Congo: O inquérito de 1596–98 e

o papel mediador das justiças locais," in *Arqueologia do Estado: Primeiras Jornadas sobre formas de organização e exercício dos poderes na Europa do Sul, Séculos XIII–XVIII,* 2 vols. (Lisbon, 1988), 1: 387–415, 414–15; "Tinha menos a cabeça em que custuma estar o titolo da cruz" (It [the cross] lacked its head [vertical extension], where customarily there ought to be the legend [INRI]). See also Horta, "Africanos e Portugueses na documentação inquisitorial, de Luanda a Mbanza Kongo (1596–1598)," *Actas do Seminário "Encontro de Povos e Culturas em Angola"* ([Lisbon], 1997), 301–21, at 311–12. According to the witness, Aires Fernandes added "that the Christians lived in error because the Messiah has not yet come, and that he owns a book that makes clear and manifest that which he declares."

31. Horta, "A Inquisição em Angola e Congo," 414–15.

32. On this subject, see Vitor Serrão, "Pintura e propaganda em Évora nos alvores do século XVII: um panfleto contra a iconoclastia e dois casos de repressão," in Barreto et al., *Inquisição Portuguesa,* 423–57. We wish to express our gratitude to Vitor Serrão, who gave us a copy of his paper before publication and discussed the iconoclasm/iconolatry problematic with us. See also Vitor Serrão, "Poder de convencimento e narração imagética na pintura portuguesa da Contra-Reforma: A influência de um gravado segundo Seghers numa tela do Convento dos Paulistas de Portel," *Cultura: Revista de História e Teoria das Ideias* 21 (2006): 65–76, and Serrão, *A Trans-Memória das Imagens: Estudos iconológicos de pintura portuguesa (séculos XVI–XVIII)* (Lisbon, 2007); and Alain Besançon, *L'image interdite: Une histoire intellectuelle de l'iconoclasme* (Paris, 1997).

33. AN/TT, IL, liv. 206, September 9, 1606, Denúncia de Jerónimo do Couto contra Gaspar Lopez, castelhano: "Que os santos que estavam no altar que erão hu pao, e não podiam fazer milagres," fol. 249v; and "Os santos que estão na igreja não os hão de adorar nem reverenciar per que são santos de pao," ibid., fol. 253.

34. The same kind of emphasis on the materiality of "idolatric" cults can be found in earlier Luso-African contacts, such as the Valentim Fernandes's account of Alvaro Velho do Barreiro's attempt at religious dialogue in Serra Leoa, among the Bullom and Temne (early sixteenth century); see Horta, "A representação do Africano na literatura de viagens, do Senegal à Serra Leoa (1453–1508)," *Mare Liberum* 2 (1991): 209–338, at 279–80, and as late as Lemos Coelho's *Discripção da Costa de Guiné* (1684), in *Duas descrições seiscentistas da Guiné de Francisco de Lemos Coelho,* ed. Damião Peres, 2nd ed. (Lisbon, 1990), 179. See also Carmen Bernard and Serge Gruzinski, *De l'idolâtrie: Une archéologie des sciences religieuses* (Paris, 1988).

35. See evidence of this attitude in Vitor Serrão, "Pintura e propaganda," in Barreto et al., *Inquisição Portuguesa,* 423–57. This pragmatic strategy was car-

ried to extremes in the depiction of bleeding sacred images, representing a "heretical" attack, in a painting by Pedro Nunes, an artist from Évora.

36. AN/TT IL, liv. 203, fol. 509: "Que não batessem nos peitos as imagens dos santos mas que lhe tivessem tanta veneração como aos proprios santos que as imagens representavão, e que as imagens não tinhão virtude nem santidade em si, mais que enquoanto representavam o figurado, e que as imagens erão de pao, pedra, ouro o prata. E que se acaso caisse aquelle crucifixo que estava em outro altar da mesma igreja, ainda que quebrace em pedassos, não sintiria aquella imagem dor alguma e que elle confitente mandaria logo faser outra de milhor feitio." In a later testimony, fol. 513, Father Correa would explain that he intended to tell his congregants "que aquella imagem não poderia ter sentimento"(that that image could not have feelings).

37. Ibid., fol. 509: "E que se elle confitente passasse por diante daquella imagem de nossa senhora que stava no altar, lhe faria, o não faria reverencia, tratando na dita estação da difrença que ha na adoração do santissimo sacramento, a reverencia das imagens dos santos."

38. There was a broadly spread image within European Jewish diaspora in which "terras de idolatria" (lands of idolatry) was a common name for Portugal, Spain, and other Catholic countries; see Kaplan, *Les nouveaux-juifs d'Amsterdam,* 33.

39. Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism,* 70.

40. In the context of a reunion of churchmen against New Christians that had taken place in Tomar the previous year.

41. "Tem [the Jews] a doutrina de Christo por idolatria e aos Christãos, por piores que os idolatras. Tem mais que não ão de fazer pacto com os idolatras que somos nos, nem paz, mas comverte-los de sua idolatria. Tem maes, ququando [sic por "que quando"] virem algum idolatra junto de algum perigo lhe não acudão, nem lancem nelle, mas que aos christãos piores que idolatras não só lhes não valhão, mas os lancem nelle e lhe tirem todo o remedio pera se poderem livrar." AN/TT, Conselho Geral do S. Ofício, liv. 301, fol. 66v.

42. "Alegão muitos lugares do o [sic] talmud . . . e a isto diz Rabi de Mouzes de Egipto no livro manda etc. cap. 9 aonde estão estas palavras os Christãos são Idolatras," ibid., fols. 68v–69. To the identification of the Maimonides text, see Colette Sirat, *La Philosophie juive médiévale en terrres d'Islam* (Paris, 1988), 181. The primary source of almost all the assertions is Maimonides' law-code, *Mishneh Torah,* bk. 1: Book of Knowledge, Laws of Idolatry and Ordinances of the Heathens, commandments 14–18, 30, 33–35. The quotation on Christians being idolaters is based in ibid., 9: 4. The following quotes are from "Rabi Salamão," that is, Rashi (Solomon ben Isaac), and from a "Rabi Lemuen," son of "Juay" (or "Suay"). The authors are presently working on the identification of

the quoted Hebrew texts and, in the process, are most grateful for the invaluable assistance of Professor José Augusto M. Ramos (History Department of Lisbon University).

43. AN/TT, IL, liv. 208, fol. 648v: "Lhe dicera que mais depreça se avião de salvar os mouros que os christãos."

44. Although Mortera's writing dates to the late 1650s, his reasonings may reflect earlier points of view shared by the Portuguese Jewish community. Although Mortera may have been of Ashkenaz ancestry, he spent over forty years as a leading member of the Sephardic community of Amsterdam. See Herman Prins Salomon, "O haham Saul Levi Mortera e a vaca vermelha," *Cadernos de Estudos Sefarditas,* no. 3 (2003), 83–101. On Mortera, see also Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism,* 70, 81.

45. Saul Levi Mortera, *Tratado da Verdade da Lei de Moisés escrito pelo seu próprio punho em Português,* ed. H. P. Salomon (Coimbra, 1988), [525]-[527]: "A conclusão do noso principal asunto, . . . he a diferenza terzera que ha entre as cosas naturais e artificais—que as naturais tem uirtude e propriedade intrinsica e as artificias não tem nihũa— . . . E assim ficaõ iguais as imagines materias, instrumentos da idolatria actual, os quais naõ tem em si nihũa uirtude nen propeiedade, e os libros do Testamento Nouo, istrumentos da idolatria mental, que insinaõ respeito e adoraçaõ a hũa imagen mental que imaginaraõ."

46. See Nathan Wachtel, "Marrano Religiosity in Hispanic America in the Seventeenth Century," in *The Jews and the Expansion of Europe to the West, 1450 to 1800,* ed. Paolo Bernardini and Norman Fiering, 149–71 (New York, 2001).

47. Ibid., 157.

48. Nunes da Silva, "Cripto-Judaísmo em Portugal seiscentista," 257: "Que eram estes bárbaros e tenham por Deus uma migalha de pão." This criticism of the cult of the saints and of images was frequent in Inquisition records from the time of the Holy Tribunal; see António Borges Coelho, *A Inquisição de Évora dos primórdios a 1668,* 2 vols. (Lisbon, 1987), 1: 207. The author quotes the statement of Rafael Correia, accused of Judaism, who was among the first victims of the Inquisition in Évora in 1543: "Be shamed and be confused all those who worship carved idols and those who glorify themselves with images made by them" (Hajam vergonha e sejam confundidos todos aqueles que adoram ídolos esculpidos e os que se glorificam com as imagens por eles feitas), ibid.

49. At that time Calvinist propaganda against Catholicism—in the way it is present, for instance, in the De Bry collection of voyages (1590–1634)—will turn the accusation of Catholic idolatry into a topos of its iconography. See Horta, "A colecção De Bry e a expansão portuguesa," in *História de Portugal dos tempos*

pré-históricos aos nossos dias, ed. João Medina, vol. 4 (Amadora, 1993), 233–47, passim.

50. AN/TT, IL, liv. 205, fols. 296–96v. See Mark and Horta, "Two Early Seventeenth-Century Sephardic Communities," 234n12.

51. See Mendes, "Le rôle de l'Inquisition en Guinée," 145. According to the Cape Verdian trader André Álvares de Almada, in the neighboring Saalum state the Bûr Saalum was called by his people "o pai dos brancos" (the father of the white men). This title corresponded to a political tradition according to which the king had the duty to personally assure protection of the white men whom he called "os meus brancos" (my white men). Almada, who wrote in the 1590s, was describing the situation in the second half of the century, but in the early seventeenth century a similar institution evidently existed in the polities of Baol and Sine. See Almada, *Tratado Breve dos Rios de Guiné do Cabo Verde,* ed. António Brásio (Lisbon, 1964), 33–34 (trans. P. E. H. Hair as *Brief Treatise on the Rivers of Guinea,* printed personally, University of Liverpool, 1984, 31).

52. See Peter Mark, *"Portuguese" Style and Luso-African Identity: Precolonial Senegambia, Sixteenth–Nineteenth Centuries* (Bloomington, IN, 2002), 82–83. The reports of the Frenchman Jajolet de la Courbe and the Portuguese Lemos Coelho provide detailed documentation on these communities from the 1660s through the 1680s.

53. The Casamance is located immediately to the south of the lower Gambia, which in turn abuts the region of Sine-Saloum at the southern extremity of the Petite Côte. The Jola people of the Casamance and their Sereer neighbors in Sine-Saloum have oral traditions, already recorded in the eighteenth century but undoubtedly much older, of a common heritage. Cf. Peter Mark, *The Wild Bull and the Sacred Forest: Form, Meaning, and Change in Senegambian Initiation Masks* (Cambridge, 1992), 31.

54. "Greater Senegambia" is here used, following Boubacar Barry, as a subregion of West Africa, including Senegal, Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, and part of Mauritania, Mali, and Guinea-Conakry. We would add part of Sierra Leone. See Boubacar Barry, *La Sénégambie du Xve au XIXe siècle: Traite negrière, Islam et conquête coloniale* (Paris, 1988).

55. See, inter alia, Mark, *"Portuguese" Style,* esp. chap. 1; Mark argues that Luso-African "Portuguese" identity, based essentially on religious, cultural, and linguistic factors, followed a Senegambian model in its fluid and multiple nature. See also Horta, "Evidence for a Luso-African Identity in 'Portuguese' Accounts on 'Guinea of Cape Verde' (Sixteenth–Seventeenth Centuries)," *History in Africa* 27 (2000): 99–130.

56. On New Christian and Marrano dual identity, see, inter alia, Kaplan, *Les nouveaux-juifs d'Amsterdam,* 29, 52; Wachtel, "Marrano Religiosity"; Robert

Rowland, "New Christian, Marrano, Jew," in Bernardini and Fiering, *Jews and the Expansion of Europe*, 125–48, passim.

57. See Peter Mark, *A Cultural, Economic and Religious History of the Casamance since 1500* (Stuttgart, 1985); see also Mark, *"Portuguese" Style*, chap. 1.

58. Mark understates the case when he writes in *"Portuguese Style"* that "'Portuguese' Jews may well have been content to be perceived by outsiders as Christians" (16).

59. Even in an African context, that could happen if there was an intervention by the Inquisition, as in the case of Manuel Homem de Carvalho in Angola, described above.

60. On the early seventeenth-century king of Bussis and his power, associated with the slave trade, see Walter Hawthorne, *Planting Rice and Harvesting Slaves: Transformations along the Guinea-Bissau Coast, 1400–1900* (Portsmouth, UK, 2003), 107–9. See also Manuel Alvares, *Ethiopia Minor and a Geographical Account of the Province of Sierra Leone (c. 1615)*, trans. and ann. P. E. H. Hair, based on the transcription made by Avelino Teixeira da Mota of the original (eighteenth-century) copy of Alvares's manuscript, Department of History, University of Liverpool, 1990.

61. Kaplan, *Les nouveaux-juifs d'Amsterdam*, 29: "The duality of crypto-Jewish existence continued to be reflected, even after individuals converted back to Judaism, by the retention of their Iberian Christian name, to complement their newly chosen Hebrew name." (N.B.: Although Kaplan's text was initially written in English, we had access only to the French edition; hence, this translation).

62. This was a generalized pattern among early modern European families. See Tirtsach Levie Bernfeld, "Mujeres judías hispano-portuguesas en el entorno holandés de Amsterdam en el siglo XVII," in *Familia, Religión y Negocio: El sefardismo en las relaciones entre el mundo ibérico y los Países Bajos en la Edad Moderna*, ed. Jaime Contreras, Bernardo J. García García e Ignacio Pulido (Madrid, 2003), 139–40.

63. The alleged sexual relationship between Manuel Peregrino, the son of Jacob Peregrino, and the daughter of the Wolof king of Bawol, would be direct evidence of this behavior in the Petite Côte community; see Green, "Further Considerations," 176–78. See also Aviva Ben-Ur's essay in this volume.

64. Although race existed as a concept, the term itself was not yet ineluctably linked to skin color in the early 1600s. As Ben-Ur observes in the context of Suriname, racial notions, in the sense of ethnic identity, were most closely associated with the concept of *os da nação*. This notion was also prominent among seventeenth-century European observers of the Portuguese settlements, both Jewish

and Christian, in Senegal. Furthermore, the identity "Portuguese," extended by Europeans and Africans alike both to merchants originating in Lusitania and to members of the Luso-African communities of the coast, was, properly speaking, an ethnic label. On the latter point see Mark, *"Portuguese" Style.*

65. We have outlined this hypothesis in "Two Early Seventeenth-Century Sephardic Communities," 254–55.

66. AN/TT, IL, liv. 205, fols. 294v, 576, 582v; liv. 59, fol. 154v. One of these men is referred to as a *"mulato da casa de Luis Fernandes Duarte,"* in Porto de Ale. Ibid., fol. 294v.

67. AN/TT, IL, liv. 59, fol. 154v.

68. Ibid., liv. 205, fol. 294v, 576: "in Jewish his name is Moises de Mesquita."

69. "White Portuguese, the son of a Dutchman and a mulatto woman." La Courbe, *Premier Voyage du Sieur de la Courbe,* ed. P. Cultru (Paris, 1913), 228.

70. Letter from the Provincial da Companhia to Dr. Antão de Mesquita, deputy of the Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, Lisbon, February 15, 1624, in *Monumenta Missionaria Africana: África Ocidental,* 2nd ser. ed. António Brásio (Lisbon, 1979), 5: 22–23: "Outra rezaõ hé uermos que segundo se affirma a maior parte da gente da Costa de Guiné hé gente da naçaõ e guarde Deos naõ seiaõ finos judeos, e viuem ala larga, e sabesse a võtade que tem á Companhia e o que podem lá e cá, e tem se por vezes achado gentio que elles circuncidaõ e viuem ao seu modo, et^{a}."

71. AN /TT, IL, liv. 59, fol. 130v: "E he lembrado que estando elle declarante com o dito portugues a porta da dita synagoga, estavão a dita porta tres negros fasendo grandes queixas, de os ditos judeus lhe averem pervertido hum negro seu companheiro e feito judeu."

72. See Wiznitzer, *Os Judeus no Brasil Colonial,* and Green, "Further Considerations," 170ff. Green's research in Dutch archival sources (Gemeentearchief of Amsterdam) found very important connections between the Querido and Belmonte families and helps to clear up their professional links with Peregrino.

73. "Avisos para o conselho d'estado dados a 9. de nouembro 1611, per mão do Dom Pedro de Castilho, Inquisidor mor," ed. *Brásio Monumenta,* ser. 1 (Lisbon, 1955), 5: 46; "Tem na dita costa cinquo naos grandes bem em ordem .s. tres de estada cõtinua e duas que vaõ e vem, e para o resgate e trato lanchas, e nauios pequenos para entrar nos Rios. Para este negocio trás o dito Diogo Dias alguns negros daquella costa em sua casa, que aprendem a lingoa Olandesa, e os leuão nos nauios por lingoas."

74. See Jonathan Schorsch, *Jews and Blacks in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge, 2004).

75. Coelho, *Descripção da Costa da Guiné* (1669), in Peres, *Duas descrições,* 102.

76. For a portrait of identity construction in the Amsterdam community's early period, see Kaplan, *Les nouveaux-juifs d'Amsterdam,* 23–45. Concerning relations with blacks and mulattoes, see also Schorsch, *Jews and Blacks in the Early Modern World,* chaps. 7–8.

77. See Schorsch, *Jews and Blacks in the Early Modern World.*

78. See, e.g., the banning of circumcision of purchased slaves, in 1650; ibid. 171, 179; compare this to the practice, forty years earlier, of Jewish merchants who converted their slaves; Schorsch (93) cites the case of Diego Dias Querido. Querido (also Jacob Belmonte) was involved in the trade to Senegal; see also Mark and Horta, "Duas comunidades," 284.

79. Literally, "a man of the nation of New Christians." See, e.g., AN/TT, IL, liv. 212, fol. 121 (April 26, 1627).

80. See Mariam Bodian, *Jews of the Portuguese Nation,* 6ff., for a discussion of the distinction between the Dutch and the Portuguese usages of the term "*os da nação.*"

81. Kaplan, *Les nouveaux-juifs d'Amsterdam,* 73.

82. See Mark and Horta, "Duas comunidades," 288ff.

83. See the account of Le Maire about Joal in 1683 published in 1695; Jacques Le Maire, *Les Voyages du Sieur Le Maire aux Isles Canaries, Cap-Verd, Sénégal et Gambie* (Paris, 1695). and Boulègue, *Les Luso-Africains,* 7, 56–57.

Chapter Ten: "These Indians Are Jews!"

1. *Relación de Aarón Levi, alias Antonio de Montezinos,* in Menasseh Ben Israel, *Esperança de Israel* (Amsterdam, 1650), 1. All translations are the author's unless otherwise noted.

2. Henry Méchoulan and Gérard Nahon, introduction, *The Hope of Israel: The English Translation by Moses Wall, 1652,* trans. Richenda George (Oxford, 1987), 64–65 (hereafter M&N).

3. In addition to multiple Spanish and English versions, the *Esperanza* was translated into Dutch (Amsterdam, 1666), Yiddish (Amsterdam, 1691), and Hebrew (Amsterdam, 1698) (M&N, ix–xi, 64).

4. M&N, 64–65.

5. *Relación,* 2–3.

6. Menasseh describes his impoverished state: "He ate up all his wealth with his trip (to Amsterdam), afterward living in extreme need and poverty because he did not want to eat at anybody else's house, nor did he try to gain any material benefit from his efforts" (42).

7. *Relación* 42; M&N, 69.

8. There is an inquisitorial document that refers to a certain "Antonio de

Montessinos, born at Villaflor in the Kingdom of Portugal, who concealed himself and fled, was caught in this city with sequestration of goods, and locked up in the secret prisons on September 3, 1639, after a testimony of complicity made against a certain Montessinos accused of Judaism: he is suspected of being the same as the man who has been apprehended." *Archivo Histórico Nacional, Cartagena de las Indias, Inquisición,* fol. 49. Quoted and translated by Elizabeth Levi de Montezinos, "The Narrative of Aharon Levi, alias Antonio de Montezinos," *American Sephardi* 7–8 (1975): 75. Also, M&N, 73–74.

9. Cf. *Cinquenta años de inquisición en el tribunal de Cartagena de Indias,* ed. Anna María Splendiani, J. E. Sánchez Bohorque, and E. C. Luque de Salazar (Santa Fe de Bogotá, 1970), 3: 85–86.

10. Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *Los Judeoconversos en España y América* (Madrid, 1971), 134–42.

11. Cecil Roth, *A History of the Marranos* (Philadelphia, 1960), 176.

12. Two exceptions to this pattern are Benjamin Schmidt, "The Hope of the Netherlands: Menasseh ben Israel and the Dutch Idea of America," in *The Jews and the Expansion of Europe to the West, 1450 to 1800,* ed. Paolo Bernardini and Norman Fiering, 86–107 (New York, 2001), and Jonathan Schorsch, "(Re)Reading the Old/New World in the 1640s: The Relación of Antonio de Montezinos" (unpublished).

13. Margarita Zamora, *Reading Columbus* (Berkeley, 1993), 7.

14. On the subject of early modern self-writing, see Richard L. Kagan and Abigail Dyer, *Inquisitorial Inquiries: Brief Lives of Secret Jews and Other Heretics* (Baltimore, 2004); James Amelang, *The Flight of Icarus: Artisan Autobiography in Early Modern Europe* (Stanford, CA, 1998); Roberto González-Echevarría, "Humanismo, retórica y las crónicas de la conquista," *Isla a su vuelo fugitiva* (Madrid, 1983); and "The Law of the Letter: Garcilaso's *Commentaries* and Origins of the Latin American Narrative," *Yale Journal of Criticism* 1 (1987): 107–31.

15. Sylvia Molloy, *At Face Value: Autobiographical Writing in Spanish America* (Cambridge, 1991), 3.

16. Natalie Zemon Davis rejects the idea that the "interestedness" of premodern autobiographic texts precluded any development of consciousness. She writes that "certain forms of embeddedness and most especially in the family could assist in consciousness of self. Not only were kinsfolk imagined as the audience for which the life was recorded, but also playing oneself off against different relatives was a major part of self-revelation," in "Fame and Secrecy: Leon Modena's *Life* as an Early Modern Autobiography," *The Autobiography of a Seventeenth-Century Venetian Rabbi: Leon Modena's Life of Judah,* trans. and ed. Mark R. Cohen (Princeton, NJ, 1988), 50–72, at 53.

17. He was, however, unique in reporting that he had personally met a group of people who themselves claimed to be a lost Israelite tribe.

18. For a more complete survey of this issue, see Anthony Grafton's *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: the Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery* (Cambridge, 1992); J. H. Elliott, *The Old World and New, 1492–1650* (Cambridge, 1992); Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago, 1991); Richard N. Popkin, "The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Indian Theory," in *Menasseh ben Israel and His World,* ed. Yosef Kaplan, Henry Méchoulan, and Richard Popkin, 63–82 (Leiden, 1989); Lynn Glaser, *Indians or Jews: An Introduction to a Reprint of Manasseh ben Israel's "The Hope of Israel"* (Gilroy, CA, 1973); André Neher, *Jewish Thought and the Scientific Revolution of the Sixteenth Century,* trans. David Maisel (London, 1986); A. Neubauer, "Where Are the Ten Tribes?" *Jewish Quarterly Review* 1 (1899): 14–19; and L. E. Huddleston, *The Origins of the American Indians: European Perspectives* (Austin, TX, 1967).

19. M&N, 45–65.

20. David Gitlitz, *Secrecy and Deceit: The Religion of the Crypto-Jews* (Philadelphia, 1996), 106.

21. Schorsch, "(Re)Reading the Old/New World."

22. Gitlitz, *Secrecy and Deceit,* 443–50.

23. Emmanuel Levinas, *Totality and Infinity,* trans. Alphonso Lingis (Pittsburgh, 1969), 39.

24. For some examples, see Gitlitz, *Secrecy and Deceit;* and H. P. Salomon, "The 'de Pinto' Manuscript, a Seventeenth-Century Marrano Family History," *Studia Rosenthaliana* 9, no. 1 (1975): 13.

25. It is an act of extreme audacity that reflects Montezinos's sincere belief in his identification with the Indians. The details of this narrative are as much the product of the assumptions of what was "possible" of Montezinos's readers, his transcribers/publishers, and his own recordings of his experience.

26. This verse from Deuteronomy is the closest approximation to a Jewish credo or catechism; it expresses connection to the nation of Israel and to the belief in one God. Observant Jews traditionally recite it twice daily. By proclaiming it together, the Indians are at once testing and welcoming their guest into their inner circle. They are testing his Jewish credentials—waiting to see if he indeed knows and recognizes this Jewish prayer—and at the same time revealing their shared *Hebraismo.*

27. I borrow this exquisite term from Jonathan Schorsch's as yet unpublished analysis of the *Relación.*

28. Obviously, the textual construction of the *Relación* is nothing other than Montezinos's attempt at making sense of his experience on his own terms. How-

ever, within the narrative itself Montezinos is cautioned against easy appropriations of the other's story.

29. In the *Esperanza,* Menasseh argues forcefully against such blurring of the racial distinctions between the Reubenites and their Indian allies (118). For the wider intellectual context of Menasseh's racial views, see Yosef Kaplan, "The Self Definition of the Sephardi Jews of Western Europe and Their Relation to the Alien and the Stranger," *Alternative Path to Modernity* (Leiden, 2000), 51–77.

Epilogue

1. Shaye J. D. Cohen, *The Beginnings of Jewishness: Boundaries, Varieties, Uncertainties* (Berkeley, 1999); Jonathan Schorsch, *Jews and Blacks in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge, 2004), chap. 9.

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HISTORY

This wide-ranging narrative explores the role that Jews, conversos, and crypto-Jews played in settling and building the Atlantic world between 1500 and 1800. Through the interwoven themes of markets, politics, religion, culture, and identity, the essays here demonstrate that the world of Atlantic Jewry, most often typified by Port Jews involved in mercantile pursuits, was more complex than commonly depicted.

The first section discusses the Jewish diaspora in relation to maritime systems, commerce, and culture on the Atlantic and includes an overview of Jewish history on both sides of the ocean. The second section provides an in-depth look at Jewish mercantilism, from settlements in Dutch America to involvement in building British, Portuguese, and other trading cultures to the dispersal of Sephardic merchants. The third section assesses the roles of identity and religion in settling the Atlantic, looking closely at religious conversion; slavery; relationships among Jews, Christians, and Muslims; and the legacy of the lost tribes of Israel. A concluding commentary elucidates the fluidity of identity and boundaries in the formation of the Atlantic world.

Featuring contributions by Jonathan Israel, Natalie Zemon Davis, Aviva Ben-Ur, Holly Snyder, and other prominent scholars, this collection opens new avenues of inquiry into the Jewish diaspora and integrates Jewish trade and settlements into the broader narrative of Atlantic exploration.

Richard L. Kagan is a professor of history at the Johns Hopkins University and the translator and editor, with Abigail Dyer, of *Inquisitorial Inquiries: Brief Lives of Secret Jews and Other Heretics*, also published by Johns Hopkins. **Philip D. Morgan** is the Harry C. Black Professor of History at the Johns Hopkins University and author of the award-winning book *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry*.

"This rich volume makes a valuable contribution to early modern Atlantic history and to Jewish studies. It is original, substantial, and theoretically sophisticated."
—Lois Dubin, Smith College

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